

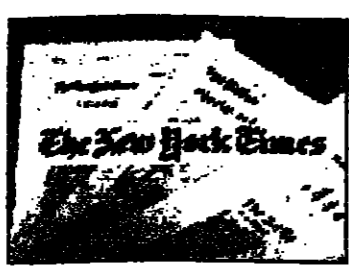
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VOLUME LXV, NUMBER 19795 MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1997 • KISLEV 9, 5758 • 8 SHAABAN 1418 NIS 4.50 (EILAT NIS 3.85)



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## Mossad's Yatom credited for revealing Gil

**By JAY BUSHINSKY**  
Mossad head Danny Yatom was responsible for revealing that it was Yehuda Gil himself, and not Gil's Syrian contact, who was responsible for the false information being reported about Syria, several sources concurred yesterday.  
A security source was quoted by

**Gil affair playing well in Damascus, Page 2**

the Itim news agency as saying: "Whoever contends that the former Mossad director, Shabtai Shavit, as early as 1991 dealt with the false information said to have been provided by Gil and that he sought his replacement, is deceiving the public."  
According to Itim, it was when Yatom, Shavit's successor, took office that Gil's reliability was first investigated. It was then that the emphasis shifted from doubt about Gil's source to suspicion of Gil himself. He was tailed by Mossad personnel as suspicions mounted that the clandestine meetings he claimed to be having, never took place at all.  
MK Ori Orr (Labor), a former deputy defense minister, was quoted as saying the suspicion of Gil's activity began during Shavit's term, but that the actions undertaken at that time did not lead to his exposure. Orr also credited Yatom with having succeeded in trapping Gil.

## Gil went bad upon retirement - lawyer

**By BAT SHEVA TSUR**

Yehuda Gil started going astray three or four years ago, after he retired from the Mossad and started working for them as a volunteer, his lawyer, Yigal Shapira, told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.  
The arrested Mossad agent has been accused of filing false reports for two decades.  
Gil was detained on November 3 and formally charged on November 7, said Shapira, who was employed by the Mossad before going into private practice. He said he had agreed to represent Gil because he was "a personal friend who had slipped up."  
According to Shapira, Gil had chalked up an excellent record over the 20 years or so he worked for the service and felt sure the court would take this into account when sentencing him.  
Shapira maintained that his client had broken under the pressure to constantly provide new information from a source that was drying up.  
He indicated that this was the point when Gil began to fabricate information.  
"Gil is a perfectionist and this was his tragic flaw," Shapira said. "He was too rigid and could not accept there was something he could not do [get new information from his source]. He was always the cool, strong type who knew how to get out of difficulties in the field and to come out a winner."



## Histadrut strike ends

### Neeman, Peretz reach pension deal

**By MICHAEL YUDELMAN and DAVID HARRIS**

A general strike that paralyzed the country for five days ended last night with a clear victory for the Histadrut labor federation, which achieved almost everything it set out to do.  
A veiled reference to the Syrian link appears in ex-Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky's book *By Way of Deception*. Ostrovsky tells of an Arab "Sunni Moslem" named Magid who "noticed a well-dressed man sitting in his hotel lobby studying a chess book and a board."  
This was said to have occurred in Copenhagen, in the summer of 1985.  
"The two men struck up a conversation," Ostrovsky goes on. "Magid was always thrilled to talk chess, and for the next two-and-a-half hours, he and a new-found friend, who had introduced himself as Mark, a Canadian entrepreneur - a Christian of Lebanese background - talked about the game they loved."  
"Mark, in reality, was Yehuda Gil, one of a pool of [case officers] stationed in Brussels and assigned to make initial contact with Magid. Not that it was Magid they wanted. It was his brother Iddid, a ministerial-level official with the Syrian military whom they hoped to recruit," Ostrovsky adds.  
MK Gideon Ezra (Likud) called for a probe into the way in which the affair was leaked to the news media.

**Strike damage estimate up to NIS 300m., Page 3**

Hundreds of thousands of striking workers began returning to work at 10 last night, after Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz and Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman came to an agreement.  
The Histadrut's most significant achievement was in forcing the government to consult with it on economic policy.  
The way to the agreement was paved when National Labor Court President Steve Adler postponed hearing contempt of court suits and called both sides into his chambers to hammer out a compromise.  
The Treasury agreed to rescind plans to tax study funds, and promised not to violate pension agreements. The agreement also calls for immediately opening negotiations over wage agreements.  
Two issues left for later talks were the transition from budgetary pensions to accumulated pensions, via the pension funds and deciding whether income eligible for pension deductions would be the average wage or twice this sum.  
Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said last night he was glad that the strike was over. At a reception at the Tel Aviv Museum celebrating the transfer of Bank Hapoalim shares to Tel Arison's group, Netanyahu said he hoped the agreements reached would spare the country unneeded expense, while permitting changes to be made in the pensions system.  
Peretz said that "the battle was about whether the workers have a right to be partners, to lift up their heads, to insist on their rights and make demands, or are mere pawns in the game."  
"I told Neeman we will not have a state of masters and slaves here. If we've achieved that, if we've won, then it's worth any price we've paid," Peretz said.  
Peretz said he hoped the Histadrut would be recognized as a full partner on issues such as the state budget, health insurance, child allowances, privatization and structural changes.  
"I hope he [Neeman] now realizes that his bullying, brutal tactics, which left an entire public feeling humiliated, ignored and despised, were wrong," Peretz said.  
**See STRIKE, Page 2**



It's not a Histadrut activist but a tourist from Scotland who flashes a V-for victory sign yesterday at Ben-Gurion Airport after learning that the general strike was over and he could fly home. Story, Page 3 (Dan Osovsky/Israel Sun)

## Pact sets framework for pension changes

**By DAVID HARRIS**

The agreement lays down the framework for transferring new state employees' pensions from the state budget to provident funds.  
The government actuarial deficit under the current system is estimated by the Treasury at NIS 163 billion for government workers and some NIS 300b. for the whole public sector.  
If the status quo were allowed to continue, there would be no money for education, defense, and other key services, claimed Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman. "The burden is larger than the entire [gross domestic]

product of Israel."  
The understanding between the two sides also contains a compromise over the agreement signed between then-finance minister Avraham Shohat and Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz in May 1996, during the last days of the Labor government.  
The Shohat-Peretz agreement made an adjustment for those workers whose pensions are computed on the basis of their average salary over their entire working career, as opposed to those whose pensions are computed under the "new system" - on the basis of their last three years of work. A pension calculated the second way is almost

always higher, since one's earnings in one's last years of work tend to be highest.  
The Shohat-Peretz document stated that those who retired during the five years subsequent to October 1996 would be entitled to an addition to their pension equal to 60% of the difference (if there is a difference) between that pension and a pension that would have been calculated under the new system.  
Under the original agreement, that payment could amount to up to NIS 2,500 a month for five years. The new arrangement allows for NIS 650 per month, but for an unrestricted period.

## Turkey defends pact with Israel

**By ARREN O'SULLIVAN and news agencies**

Turkey has rebuffed growing pressure from Arab states to cancel its military pact with Israel, and will be rolling out the red carpet for Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who arrives in Ankara today.  
But in Teheran, representatives gathering for the Organization of the Islamic Conference, led by Syria, are seeking a strong condemnation of Turkey for the military alliance.  
Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shara said yesterday that the head of the Turkish delegation had promised, after Moslem foreign ministers had discussed the issue, that the accord with Israel would be allowed to lapse.  
But Turkey's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Ahat Andican later denied that he had made such a promise.  
"What I said is that there is an agreement between Turkey and Israel and it's a training agreement and it's not against any other Islamic country or third country," Andican told Reuters.  
"It's a training agreement. It works now and it will stay," he said, adding that Shara must have misunderstood his remarks, at a recent Islamic conference in Teheran.  
"There was a mistake in translation, I think," Andican said. "I did not say we were canceling [the agreement] or anything like this."  
The resolution being drafted in Teheran was toned down by other

Arab states to avoid raising tensions with Ankara.  
In Tel Aviv, a senior defense source praised the position taken by Turkey, but noted that Ankara did not want its special relations with Israel to come at the expense of its relations with other countries in the region.  
"We are stressing to the Turks and to our neighbors in the region that none of our links with Turkey are aimed at harming any third party in the Middle East," the senior official said.  
Israel has signed a similar military pact with Greece, but it remains an agreement in principle, since Athens is reluctant to further develop defense ties.  
Mordechai's visit is the first by an Israeli defense minister to Turkey. He is to be received at the highest levels today, meeting with the Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, Defense Minister Ismet Sezgin, and the chairman of the parliament, who is standing in for President Suleyman Demirel, who is abroad.  
He will also meet with Chief of General Staff Gen. Ismail Karadayi and other top Turkish military officials.  
The close defense relations have opened the door to lucrative military deals and joint projects. But defense officials said that Mordechai is not on a "marketing and acquisition visit," but plans to discuss the political and defense relationship in general.  
During his visit, Mordechai will travel to Istanbul and be hosted by the Jewish community there.

## Hamas leader Rantisi tells 'Post': Intifada can restart any time

**By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH and MOHAMMED NAJIB**

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the intifada, the Hamas leader in Gaza, Dr. Abdul Aziz Rantisi, said that the flame of confrontation still burns within the Palestinian people, and that it could explode at a suitable moment.  
In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Rantisi maintained that it was Hamas which encouraged the uprising in December 1987, by calling out from the mosques for people to protest in response to an accident involving an Israeli semi-trailer, which collided with a Palestinian vehicle, killing four passengers and injuring 10.  
Pent-up feelings of injustice led to the explosion of protests, he said.  
"The intifada forced the Palestinian people to face a reality and the continual injustice wrought

upon them by Israel. Their inner fears and frustration were translated externally in the shape of stones, declarations, rallies and protest marches and then the people regrouped and headed into direct confrontation."  
Most mainstream Palestinian groups consider the intifada as having ended in 1993, with the signing of the Oslo Accords.  
But Rantisi, whose organization opposes the peace agreements, charged that "today the Israeli government continues to treat the Palestinians in a similar fashion, kindling the intifada flame felt by the people. It is only a matter of time before it explodes again."  
Rantisi vowed that his group's struggle against Israel would continue for as long as Israel occupies Palestinian land.  
"The intifada goals are numerous, Palestinians will continue to defend

themselves against the Israeli aggression and occupation, they will revive the jihad [holy war]," he said.  
Rantisi compared the intifada to the sea.  
"Sometimes the waves overlap, and crash down around us, other times the sea is calm, but the feelings of turmoil constantly exist; its strength changes but the currents are always there."  
Rantisi maintained that Hamas's political and military wings are separate entities and that any threats regarding further attacks come from Hamas's military wing, known as Izzadin Kassam.  
In the past, Rantisi has been quoted as saying that Israel remains a common enemy of Hamas and the Palestinian Authority. He has demanded that the PA resist US and Israeli pressures to take action against Hamas, claiming that this would cost Palestinians their unity.

## Not a job for a 'nice Jewish girl'

**By MARILYN HENRY**

NEW YORK - It's not true that Jewish girls "don't do that." The third thing was, "We must never, never tell Grandma, and we didn't." She thought Jane was a lawyer," she recalled for *The New York Times*.  
Perlov starts her new job today, supervising 514 officers. Her style, she told the *New York Post*, is "Rather than say, 'Charge!' I say, 'Follow me!'"  
Perlov, who was raised in an Upper West Side apartment filled

with paintings, books, and Oriental rugs, began her police career patrolling the streets of Harlem. One night, a raid on a drug den found Perlov, who is 1.58 meters tall, and her fellow officers up against a locked metal door.  
"They all looked at me and said, 'Jane, why don't you kick it in?'" Perlov told the *Times*.  
"So I closed my eyes and thought of every John Wayne movie I'd ever seen, and I kicked it. And it opened."

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# NEWS

in brief

## Soldier wounded in Lebanon

A soldier was lightly wounded by mortar fire in south Lebanon last night. The incident happened while troops were on patrol in the eastern sector of the security zone. The soldier was given first aid in the field and did not require further treatment. Meanwhile, reports from Lebanon said two Hizbullah activists were killed by IDF troops in the past few days, without giving details of where or when. The reports gave rise to speculation that they were among the three people who were killed in explosions near Majdal Salim village, north of the security zone, on Friday. *David Rudge*

## US officials to discuss Swiss bank issue

Some 200 American public finance officials will meet in New York today to review Switzerland's handling of war-era assets and the question of sanctions against its banks. The conference is being convened by New York City Controller Alan Hevesi, one of a handful of finance officers who this fall imposed sanctions on Swiss banks. *Marilyn Henry*

## Peace Now: Construction up in settlements

There was a 23 percent rise in construction in the settlements in the second quarter of the year, Peace Now charged yesterday. Publishing findings for the second quarter, the movement said 320 homes are currently under construction, compared to 260 in the first three months of the year. The construction of public housing rose 62.5%, 130 homes compared to 80 in the first quarter. Private construction rose 5%, 190 compared to 180. The movement said that according to a survey published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, a total of 2,920 units are currently being constructed, compared to 2,870 in the first quarter. *Margot Dudkevitch*

## B'tselem: 1,346 killed by IDF in intifada

To mark the 10th anniversary of the outbreak of the intifada, B'tselem published a list of Israeli human rights infringements against the Palestinians. The organization claims that 1,346 Palestinians were killed by soldiers and security forces since December 9, 1987, 276 of whom were children. Undercover units killed 162 Palestinians and 133 Palestinians were killed by Israeli civilians. The reports states that 256 Israeli civilians were killed by Palestinians, 18 of whom number were children. Palestinians killed 127 Israel security men and soldiers. *Margot Dudkevitch*

## No-confidence debate today

The Knesset is scheduled to debate three no-confidence motions, filed by Labor, Meretz with Hadash and the Democratic Arab Party, this afternoon. The motions deal with both political-diplomatic issues, including redeployment, and the economy. *Liat Collins*

## Discussion on Eva Braun exhibit

The Israel Museum is to hold a discussion of its controversial installation "Live and Die as Eva Braun," at 11 a.m. today at its Springer Auditorium. Participating are the exhibition's creator, Roece Rosen; and Roger Rothman, a doctoral candidate at New York's Columbia University, who wrote the supplementary text for the Artist's Book published in connection with the exhibition. *Meir Ronnen*

# Final map won't be ready for Albright

By JAY BUSHINSKY

The final map being drawn up by the four-man cabinet committee on the next redeployment in the West Bank may not be ready when Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu meets US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright again on December 17, but its general outline and the concepts behind it are almost certain to be in hand. This assessment was informed by an assessment by the committee's latest session which was held yesterday shortly after Netanyahu's return from Paris, where he conferred twice with Albright on the redeployment issue. Netanyahu briefed the committee on the talks.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai and National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon met privately prior to the four-sided deliberations with Netanyahu and Foreign Minister David Levy.

During the one-on-one, the two saw eye to eye on their respective maps.

This enabled the plenum to appoint two subcommittees of topographical and security experts drawn from Mordechai's and Sharon's staffs to "crystallize" a map which, according to political sources, will be a "map of national interests and security."

Although its lines of demarcation of territory to be ceded to the Palestinian Authority and that to

be retained eventually will be unfurled before Albright, the sources doubted that it would be complete in time for Netanyahu's next meeting with her.

In discussing the cartographical concepts, however, Netanyahu evidently will be able to specify the sectors Israel intends to keep when the permanent arrangement with the PA is formalized.

The sources credited Netanyahu with having succeeded in convincing Albright and her aides of

Israel's need for security zones. They said he elaborated on this at his meeting with her in Paris on Friday and predicted that he will be able to present a coherent territorial plan (though not an actual map) to her at their forthcoming talks.

Because of Mordechai's departure for an official visit to Turkey, the four-member cabinet committee will not reconvene until after his scheduled return on Wednesday, it is reported.

# France: Next move in peace process up to Israel

PARIS (Reuters) - The next move in reviving the Middle East peace process is up to Israel, French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine said yesterday.

Vedrine, who discussed the Middle East situation with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright yesterday after meeting Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu on Friday, said France feels that Israel's plans for a promised West Bank troop pull-back are "insufficient."

Vedrine made the remarks during an interview on Luxembourg television RTL.

President Jacques Chirac made similar comments after meeting Netanyahu on Saturday, according to his spokeswoman, telling the Israeli leader he is pessimistic about the prospects for peace and that long delays in the peace process are a threat to Israel's security.

During the RTL interview, Vedrine repeatedly ducked reporters' questions on whether he still considers Netanyahu's policies to be "catastrophic," as he had said in September.

That remark had triggered strong criticism of France from

Israeli officials.

Vedrine also repeatedly refused to say whether he believes Israel truly wanted peace.

Netanyahu had travelled to Bonn and Paris in recent days to brief French and German leaders on the redeployment plan.

Leaders in both countries said after hearing the plans that more is needed on Israel's part.

Albright was staying overnight in Paris again and is scheduled to meet French Prime Minister Lionel Jospin early today before setting off on a seven-nation African tour.

# Gil affair playing well in Damascus

The "Case of the Spy Who Lied to His Headquarters" is undoubtedly generating as much interest among the Damascus elite as it is in Jerusalem.

"This was not the first time the Mossad fed disinformation to the Israeli government, and it was not the first time also that the Israeli government built its policies on such fabricated reports," wrote

the English-language *Syria Times* yesterday, in its first review of the Yehuda Gil affair.

The paper then went on to ask,

"The question now is whether the Israeli government will continue its intransigent policies or will reassess its wrongly based position on peace-making?"

The Gil affair will initially lead to verbal Syrian attacks on Israel for fanning the flames of war, said Gabriel Ben-Dor, a Haifa University political science professor who specializes in Syria. But at a later stage, he said, the incident may actually serve to "clear the air" between the two countries.

The two comments in the *Syria Times* dovetail well with that analysis.

"Initially, the episode will reinforce the perception in Syria that Israel does not want peace, and that it is looking for another round of fighting, and is preparing all kinds of excuses for this," Ben-Dor said.

He said there have already been reports in the Syrian press that the affair proves Israeli intransigence, and how there are elements in the Israeli security community who are not interested in peace with Syria, and are trying to misrepresent Syria's real intentions to the Israeli public and the whole world.

This initial, knee-jerk reaction could be heard in a Radio Damascus commentary over the weekend.

"The information published in Israel about the Mossad's mistakes shows that organization is a nest of fabrications and lies, to say nothing of its role in employing terror against others." But on second blush, Ben-Dor

said, the whole episode could, paradoxically, help create a better atmosphere between the two countries.

"When they analyze this in greater depth," Ben-Dor said, "they will realize that as long as the tense relationship continues, such misunderstandings can always arise, so there will be an interest in clearing the air. What Gil sent seemed like credible information; there was no other way to get reliable information. It might

take some time, but the Syrians will realize there are those at the lower level in Israel who are interested in keeping up the tension, and misleading the government."

Ben-Dor said that in the past, prior to Camp David, confidence-building measures took place between Egypt and Israel when their respective leaders concluded that they might not be getting objective information on the other side through their various intelligence channels.

Rafi Eitan, for years one of the Mossad's central pillars, told Israel Radio that Syria will obviously clamp down hard on its governing circle in an effort to plug any remaining security leaks.

He said that the episode "undoubtedly" compromised some of the Mossad's methods of operation.

But the Syrians, said Ben-Dor, were clearly not surprised by the affair. "They will now clamp down on everything and everything, and will do everything to ensure that this doesn't happen again."

He said, however, that the Syrians realize that their upper echelon is "full of corruption," and are not surprised "that people can be bought off with money. Things like this happen all the time [to the Syrians] in Lebanon." Ben-Dor said that in the "near future" the Syrians will be alert "to this type of thing," but then it will blow over, and one of the country's many other scandals will take precedence.

That, at least, is one thing both Damascus and Jerusalem have in common.



Visiting chop-shop  
Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani yesterday visits a chop-shop that was discovered last week in Tel Aviv. (Dim Ossenzyer/Israel Sun)

## STRIKE

Continued from Page 1

"This time, since the agreement was sponsored by the court, I hope it would not occur to Neeman to violate it," Peretz added.

He apologized for the hardships the strike caused the public, but said that "a society which wants a recognized and protected workers' class, must accept the temporary suffering."

Peretz said that the Treasury had agreed several months ago to accept the pension agreement

signed by former finance minister Avraham Shohat just before the last elections.

Neeman had argued that the agreement was illegal.

The end of the crisis followed a stormy day of protests in which thousands of angry workers took to the streets, blocking thoroughfares and intersections around the country. Many were angered by reports that Neeman was backing down on agreements reached on Saturday night.

All-night talks between the Treasury and the Histadrut broke down at dawn yesterday just as an

agreement seemed imminent, after Histadrut officials learned that Netanyahu had signed emergency back-to-work orders before he went abroad last Wednesday.

At 5 a.m., the sides had reached agreement, according to Peretz, but by 5:45 a.m. Neeman had changed his mind once again.

"The time has come for the citizens of Israel to realize that they're doing business with a man [Neeman], with who it is impossible to finalize agreements," Peretz accused, as he entered Labor Court yesterday morning.

Thousands of workers burned tires and blocked the Jerusalem road leading to the courthouse in a demonstration of solidarity for Peretz, who was hoisted on supporters' shoulders when he arrived to answer the state's contempt of court suits.

Posters were also draped on the side of the court building saying, "Neeman is unreliable" and "Neeman the usurper."

Neeman, who arrived tightly surrounded by dozens of security guards, was jeered, booed and splashed with water hoses as the workers yelled "Neeman, resign" and "Neeman, go home."

Agreement was reached only in the evening, with an exchange of faxes between Peretz and Neeman.

Neeman said the agreements could have been reached without a strike, which he said did damage that "was tremendous - to exports, to the tourist industry and the name of the State of Israel."

Neeman also criticized strike leaders, and alleged that they did not represent the nation's poor.

"It must be clear, Treasury policy is to defend those whose wages are low," he said.

Neeman denied allegations that he had sought to break the backbone of the Histadrut.

"The workers need a strong Histadrut, but it must be responsible," he said.

We mourn the passing of our dear friend

## UZI CAMISSAR ז"ל

Our deepest condolences to Mrs. Nurit Camissar and the entire family.

The funeral will take place at 10 a.m. today, Monday, December 8, at the Shamgar Funeral Home

Darcho Noam Institutions

David Shapell College of Jewish Studies Midreshet Rachel College of Jewish Studies for Women

The azkara and unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved

## BENJAMIN (Bolek) LUBELSKI

will take place on Tuesday, December 9, 1997 at the Givat Shaul Cemetery, Jerusalem. We will meet at the entrance at 1:30 p.m. The Family

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our dear

## BERNARD (BOOBY) SMALLER

who has been released from his suffering.

The funeral will take place today, Monday, December 8, 1997, 9 Kislev, at 1 p.m. at the Herzliya Cemetery (Rehov Pinsker). We shall meet at the gates.

Mourned by:

His wife, Bashe  
His children, Miriam Smaller Baumgarten, Shoshana Battat, Adi, Shulamit Besh and their families

## TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Deeply mourns the passing of

## FRANK DAVIS

Member of the Board of Governors

The University extends its condolences to the family

Benno Gitter  
Chairman of the Board of Governors

Professor Yoram Dinstein  
President

## Desiree and Yossi Carmel

mourn the loss of a devoted friend

## FRANK DAVIS

and send condolences to

Renee and the family

# Politicians comment on Gil affair

By LIAT COLLINS

Gideon Ezra (Likud), a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and a former deputy head of the General Security Service, said yesterday that censorship on the Gil affair should have remained tighter, because details of the Mossad's work methods were revealed and could enable the Syrians to find Gil's source in Damascus.

Ezra also called on the Prime Minister's Office to publish an official statement on the affair.

"We are giving the enemy too clear a picture of what is going on with us," said Ezra. He added, however, that most of the news being published is partially incorrect.

He stressed that more than one source of information is used to prepare assessments.

Ezra called the affair "unusual" and said that integrity is one of top requirements of those recruited to intelligence services.

Ezra said that Gil had been suspected of providing unreliable information for a long time. He rejected the possibility that the public exposure of Gil was timed deliberately to moot the criticism of Mossad head Danny Yatom over the Mashaal Affair.

"When you have a bad agent, it's better to get rid of him than continue with him," he said. "It's similar to a certain extent to the problem in the Avishai Raviv affair."

The false information on Syria  
Drive Slower! Drive with Care!

provided by Mossad operative Yehuda Gil continued to be discussed by politicians yesterday and is expected to be raised in the Knesset this week in committee and plenum debates.

Internal Security Minister Avigdor Kahalani (Third Way) called on the prime minister to establish a special comptroller to oversee the work of the security services.

He said that he had seen no change in Syrian President Hafez Assad's approach to peace. "And my opinion was not formed by Gil," Kahalani said. "When I see Assad [addressing] the Knesset, I will consider changing my mind."

Yossi Katz (Labor), chairman of the State Control Committee, said he would recommend State Comptroller Miriam Ben-Porat increase the supervision of the security services.

Katz is convening the subcommittee for control of the security services today.

He said the affair indicates a failure in the method of recruiting agents.

Both Ra'anan Cohen (Labor) and Ran Cohen (Meretz) are calling for an urgent meeting of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in order to study the issue.

Ran Cohen said that despite the public rebuttals by those involved, he is convinced that Gil was motivated by a desire to torpedo peace negotiations with Syria.

LIAR

مخبران الاحرار



# IMA joins battle against arrangements bill

By JUDY SIEGEL

The Israel Medical Association has decided to join the struggle against the arrangements bill - a supplement to the state budget - which, should it pass in its present form, is due to effect major changes in the health system starting next month and cost families some NIS 1,000 a year more for medical care.

IMA chairman Dr. Yoram Blachar said an emergency meeting of doctors will be held at Sheba Hospital on Wednesday to discuss ways of preventing harm to the public and the health system. The IMA has declared a work

dispute over the bill and intends to lobby in the Knesset against it.

Blachar said that the Treasury - by attempting to push through the Knesset Finance Committee a bill that will reduce the basket of health services - wants to revoke the egalitarian National Health Insurance Law on its third anniversary.

"The Finance Ministry is misleading the public when it claims that the health system is not competitive and efficient enough and that it is wasteful. The cause of the problems was the Treasury's failure to correctly calculate the real cost of the basket of health services, which rocketed the health funds into massive deficits," he charged.

Blachar added that the Treasury misunderstands the role of the health system and is trying to rid the state of responsibility for public health.

In many countries, it has been proven that uncontrolled competition in the health system is dangerous, since the money saved by the government falls in the end on the shoulders of patients. If the Treasury has its way, community clinics serving areas with 5,000 to 100,000 residents will be closed as "uneconomic."

Preventive medicine - vaccination for babies and follow-up for pregnant women - will be neglected, Blachar warned.



Peres and Barak think their own thoughts yesterday at the Labor Party convention.

(Dan Osovsky/ver / Israel Sun)

# Peres steals Labor convention limelight by backing Palestinian statehood

By SARAH HONG

Labor chairman Ehud Barak managed to squeeze out only a slim majority at the party convention yesterday for his plan to appoint a director-general. The vote was seen as a slap in the face since Barak had put his full weight behind the proposal.

The Labor leader was also roundly accused of having aides tamper with the composition of the new 2,000-member central committee which the convention met to elect.

The size of the committee was expanded last night from an initial 1,500 in an attempt to ease conflicts. Many in Labor felt that Barak had packed the committee with his own foot soldiers.

Despite the recriminations, there was little excitement at the tedious convention held at Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv.

The warmest reception went to Barak's predecessor, Shimon Peres,

who came out in favor of Palestinian statehood and withdrawing from the Golan Heights in exchange for peace.

Barak's proposal to draft yeshiva students, which he raised on the eve of the convention, was never brought to a vote, and he barely mentioned it in his speech.

Nothing controversial was put to a vote, besides the proposal to appoint a director-general alongside an elected secretary-general. Fewer than a third of the 3,000 delegates participated in the ballot. Of these, 348 supported Barak and 327 opposed appointing a director-general.

Presidium chairman David Liba'i protested that the vote was too close. "This is no majority. There is no majority here and no minority," he said. He called for another vote at a later date.

MK Haggai Merom, Barak's most vociferous opponent, felt that the narrow vote had "effectively killed

the director-general notion.

"This party said no to a would-be dictator. We don't want a one-man rule and we don't want that one man to appoint his hand-picked administrator to lord it over us."

Barak still has to go back to the party before a director-general can be chosen.

Meanwhile Barak fully retreated from his position last week that it wouldn't be possible to hold Knesset primaries if national elections were moved up.

"I know of no other system and primaries in this party will be held even if we gear up to early elections and must go to the polls within 60 days," he promised.

Acting on his prediction that new elections are in the offing, Barak declared a fund-raising drive to help foot the upcoming campaign bills.

Campaign stickers were distributed in abundance.

Barak promised to reserve a quarter of spots on the Knesset list for women, unless the elections are moved up, which would presumably leave too little time to make the change.

The man who held everyone's attention at the convention was Peres, who received a standing ovation. The somber-looking former premier pulled no punches.

He told the delegates that "if we want a Jewish state then we need to have a non-Jewish state right along side it. We need a real non-Jewish state and not just some vague entity. We need what is explicitly and unequivocally a Palestinian state."

Peres went on to assert that Syrian President Hafez "Assad wants peace but he won't make peace in return for only part of the Golan Heights. If we put this off, the price will not decrease - not even in ten years."

# Ministry gets new weapons boss

By ARIEH O'SULLIVAN

Maj.-Gen. (res.) Yossi Ben-Hanan took over yesterday as head of SIBAT, the Defense Ministry department that promotes defense exports. He replaced longtime director Brig.-Gen. (res.) David Shoval, the ministry announced yesterday.

Shoval, who headed SIBAT since 1990, will be sent to head the ministry's delegation in Germany.

Israel is the fifth largest arms exporter, with \$1.3 billion in foreign weapons sales, according to the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. Last year Israel was the sixth, but it has

since surpassed Germany. SIBAT is responsible for defense assistance, exports, and is also involved in the sale of IDF military surplus.

Ben-Hanan, 52, faces serious challenges in his new post as the defense industries come under growing pressures to consolidate.

As a young soldier, Ben-Hanan appeared on the cover of LIFE magazine in a photograph from the Six-Day War. He retired from the IDF two years ago.

A veteran armor corps officer, Ben-Hanan was decorated in the Yom Kippur War for leading an assault into Syria, where he was



Yossi Ben-Hanan severely wounded. Later he served as a commander at the National Defense College.

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# Video with Raviv at Har-Shefi trial

The lawyer for Margalit Har-Shefi, who is on trial for failing to prevent the murder of Yitzhak Rabin, yesterday introduced into evidence in Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court a videotape of a conversation between his client and General Security Service agent Avishai Raviv.

The videotape was made on November 7, 1995, just after Har-Shefi, a friend of Rabin's assassin, Yigal Amir, was brought in for questioning by police.

In the recording, which was made without Raviv's knowledge,

she tells him: "Yigal did it. It's really sad. He made a mistake. We're in shock. The whole gang's in shock."

In another section, the following conversation takes place after Raviv tells Har-Shefi that Amir is a hero:

"Oh, really. Do me a favor."

"Amir took all the responsibility; he took the whole country on his shoulders; he'll go down in history."

"He will go down in history all right. The question is as what."

"He's a hero"

"You and your heroes! I don't



Margalit Har-Shefi (Israel Sun) have the strength for this." The tape was introduced in the course of a side hearing on the

admissibility of Har-Shefi's statements to the police.

Har-Shefi contends that she was prevented from sleeping, that her initial questioning was over 24 consecutive hours, and that she was not allowed to see a lawyer.

She also argued that during a large part of her interrogation no protocol was kept, as it mandated by law, and that the protocol that was kept was altered by the interrogators.

She said that she only saw parts of the protocol, which legally she must sign, after she

was indicted.

Asst.-Cmdr. Yitzhak Meisner, of the National Criminal Investigations Unit, responded by saying that Har-Shefi is a very assertive woman who is well able to stand up for herself.

He said that during her interrogation, she would demand that certain sentences be included in the protocol.

He said that if she had complaints about the length of the questioning or about other conditions, she would have said so and insisted this be in the protocol. (Iim)

## NEWS

in brief

### Vatican envoy visits Christian sites

A Vatican envoy on foreign affairs began a seven-day tour yesterday of Christian holy sites in the West Bank and Israel. The envoy, Cardinal Silvas Ferrini Akila, plans to meet with Israeli and Palestinian officials.

Yesterday he visited the Bethlehem area, including the Church of the Nativity. He was welcomed at a ceremony held beforehand at Rachel's Tomb, at the entrance to Bethlehem.

The civil administration said yesterday it would allow 4,000 Christians from the West Bank to enter Israel for Christmas holiday observances. (Iim)

### Suspect in attempted murder remand extended

The Tel Aviv District Court yesterday extended the remand of Nahman Cohen, the Netanyahu man suspected of attempting to murder Manny Aslan, until the end of legal proceedings. Cohen, 37, was charged September 10 with trying to kill Aslan in front of a restaurant in the Hatikva quarter of Tel Aviv about three months ago. Two other people have also been charged in the case.

The judge determined yesterday that there was enough evidence to incriminate Cohen and that he should remain in custody. (Iim)

### Girl dies of rabies

A seven-year-old girl from Kalansuwa who was diagnosed with rabies last week died yesterday at Schneider Children's Medical Center in Petah Tikva, after never regaining consciousness.

The girl was apparently scratched on the forehead by an unidentified animal two months ago, but the injury was not reported to the authorities. Family members were vaccinated after the girl was diagnosed.

It was the second death from rabies in a little more than a year. A soldier died of rabies 13 months ago after contracting the illness apparently from a rodent bite. He had been the first fatality from rabies in Israel in about three decades. (Judy Siegel)

### Winter matriculation exams begin

The winter session for matriculation exams, being taken by 65,163 youngsters, began yesterday and will continue through January 5, the Education Ministry said yesterday.

The tests are being given in 11 subjects, with the largest number being tested in math. The ministry has set up special centers to answer questions about the exams. The center can be reached by the following numbers: 02-6518913 in Jerusalem; 03-6160623 in the Tel Aviv area; 04-8645408 in Haifa and 07-6283292 in Beersheba. (Arveh Dean Cohen)

### Talk on link between heart attack, infection

The theory that a heart attack is the end result of an infectious disease caused by bacteria that can be treated or even prevented with antibiotics will be one of the topics for discussion at Israel Medical Week, which will be held, starting today, at the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds.

The event will be accompanied by Medax '97, an exhibition of the latest medical equipment from Israel and abroad.

The theory linking the sexually transmitted chlamydia infection with myocardial infarction was proposed recently in *The Lancet* by Dr. A. Gurfinkel of Buenos Aires.

Follow-up studies being carried out around the world are "very encouraging," said Prof. Raoul Raz, head of the infectious diseases unit at Ha'emek Hospital in Afula, who will lead a discussion of the subject. (Judy Siegel)

## Hanegbi asks court to rule on US teen's extradition

By BATSHEVA TSUR

The Maryland teenager wanted in the US for a brutal murder came one step closer to extradition yesterday when Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi formally asked the Jerusalem District Court to rule on whether the youth can be extradited.

The request was presented to the court, on behalf of Hanegbi, by the international department of the State Attorney's Office, which last week received an official extradition request from the US authorities. At the same time, the prosecution asked that the youth be kept in custody until the conclusion of the proceedings.

The court will convene on Wednesday with Judge Yehudit Tsar on the bench.

Earlier, Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein and State Attorney Edna Arbel had expressed the view that the youth could be extradited despite the fact that his father claims Israeli citizenship.

The teen's lawyers have pleaded that he is thus also an Israeli citizen. Under Israeli law, Israeli citizens cannot be extradited for crimes committed abroad.

If the district court rules that he can be extradited, the suspect's lawyers have said they will appeal to the Supreme Court.

The suspect's name cannot be published because he is a minor. He has been in custody for nearly three months, after fleeing here immediately after the September murder.

## Hizbullah: Progress made in talks over return of Ilya's body

By DAVID RUDGE and news agencies

Progress has apparently been made in negotiations over an exchange deal that would return the remains of naval commando Itamar Ilya.

Hizbullah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah said some positive developments had taken place in the past few days and he expects more progress.

"Contacts will be intensified in the coming couple of days and probably we will reach a complete result," Nasrallah was quoted as saying on Lebanon's Voice of the People radio station.

Eleven naval commandos and an IDF doctor were killed in an abortive raid near Ansariya village, midway between Tyre and Sidon in south Lebanon in September. Ilya's body was not recovered.

Since the incident, Israel has been conducting negotiations through third parties with the Lebanese government and indirectly with Hizbullah to secure the return of Ilya's remains.

The negotiations have been led by the International Red Cross, which has held talks with Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and Hizbullah leaders.

Nasrallah, who met with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Posobvalyuk on Friday, declined to talk about Russia's mediation efforts.

He did, however, suggest that France could assist in the negotiations, while ruling out Germany as a possible mediator because of its strained ties with Iran.

Israel is holding the remains of several Lebanese gunmen, including the body of Nasrallah's son who was killed in a clash with IDF troops in south Lebanon.

The body of Nasrallah's son is reportedly being kept in a hospital morgue, rather than being buried with the remains of other terrorists, to prevent it from being stolen.

Hizbullah is seeking the release of Lebanese held in Israel and in the security zone, as well as the bodies of its gunmen, in return for the remains of Ilya.



### Remembering Golda

Golda Meir's great-grandchildren lay a wreath on her grave yesterday on Mount Herzl during a memorial marking 19 years since the former prime minister died. (Issac Harari)

## Olmert: I didn't plot to overthrow PM

By ELLI WOHLGELERWITZ

Jerusalem Mayor Ehad Olmert was not involved in any attempt to overthrow Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, nor does he intend to be in the future unless he sees a deviation on the part of Netanyahu on "fundamental national issues," Olmert said yesterday.

Speaking to the Foreign Press Association, Olmert said that when stories were written about him last month regarding the turmoil within the Likud, "I laughed, as I laugh about some other stories that I read about occasionally in the papers."

"If you recall, I didn't make one statement, nor did I give one interview to the press at that time. I just read all kinds of interpretations about the rebellion and the coup that I was part of: I was not part of any rebellion, I didn't contemplate anything with anyone about unseating the prime minister in the middle, or after the middle, or towards the end of this term."

While conceding that there is "a degree of unrest" within the party

and among ministers who feel they were let down by Netanyahu, Olmert said there "is no need" to speculate whether he will launch a secret challenge to the prime minister.

"If I will have a reason that involves fundamental national issues of the highest order that I believe that are so important they will justify even a challenge to the prime minister, then the first thing I will do will be to go the prime minister and talk to him about it and tell him, 'Listen, you have failed the country on these issues. I can't trust you anymore, and I am going to now challenge you publicly and try to unseat you.'"

"But believe me, when it will take place, he will know about it and you will know about it and you will not have to speculate. I'll let you know."

On other issues, Olmert said that it is too early to predict the inevitability of a Palestinian state; that the government should set its final-settlement parameters now, "because without such a definition, it will be increasingly difficult to reach an understanding within the cabinet for any interim

agreement," that there has been "no explicit agreement and no tacit agreement between me" and the prime minister about freezing the building in Har Homa for any period of time, not one day, not one hour."

He also said that while Orient

House has not been closed, "you will admit that visits of high-ranking dignitaries stopped altogether. No more foreign ministers, no more prime ministers, no more any ministers come to Orient House. It has lost the high profile it had in the past."

## Where to eat in Israel

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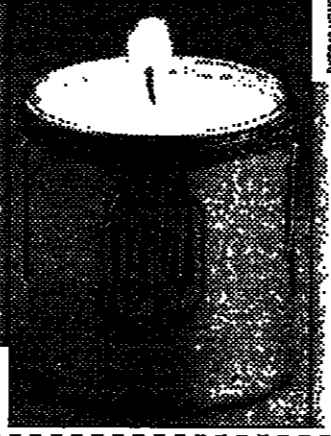
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# Iran power struggle on knife-edge

By PAUL TAYLOR

TEHERAN (Reuters) — Behind a facade of unity on display to welcome Islamic world leaders to Iran this week, a power struggle over the future of this Islamic republic is waiting to erupt again.

It pits a cautious, modernizing president against a conservative Shi'ite Moslem leadership which has still not digested his surprise landslide victory last May and has no intention of yielding the levers of power they control.

President Mohammed Khatami, who will host more than two dozen Moslem leaders at the biggest diplomatic event since the 1979 Islamic revolution, faces a tough battle to implement his policies over hardliners supporting supreme Islamic leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

"Mr. Khatami won only the presidential election, that's all," says former foreign minister Ebrahim Yazdi, leader of a small semi-legal liberal opposition party and a sharp observer of Iranian political life.

"The extreme right lost the election but they control all the powers: parliament, radio and television, the security forces, the supreme leader's institutions, the Friday prayers preachers.

"More than that, they have very strong economic power — a big slice of gross national product is controlled by so-called revolutionary foundations that pay no taxes and answer directly to the leader," Yazdi said.

Iran's 1979 constitution, tailor-made for the late revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, vests ultimate power in the "faqih" or religious legal scholar, who is commander-in-chief of the armed forces and can make peace or war.

But Khamenei lacks Khomeini's charisma and learning, and his legitimacy has been challenged both by veteran Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, sacked as Khomeini's anointed successor after he criticized human rights

abuses, and by dissident philosopher Abdolkarim Soroush, who advocates separating mosque and state.

Khatami, himself a clergyman, controls government ministries but not the police. His speeches are sometimes censored by state television and his efforts to revive an inflation-battered economy are cramped by hardline opposition to taxing wealthy bazaar traders or privatizing the foundations' industrial empire.

Street gangs controlled by the hardliners occasionally turn out to beat up reformist students or prevent intellectuals speaking.

"The only thing Khatami has is the popular support of the nation, which urgently wants change," said businessman Sadeq Samii, who tries to run publishing and inspection companies in a forest of regulations and censorship.

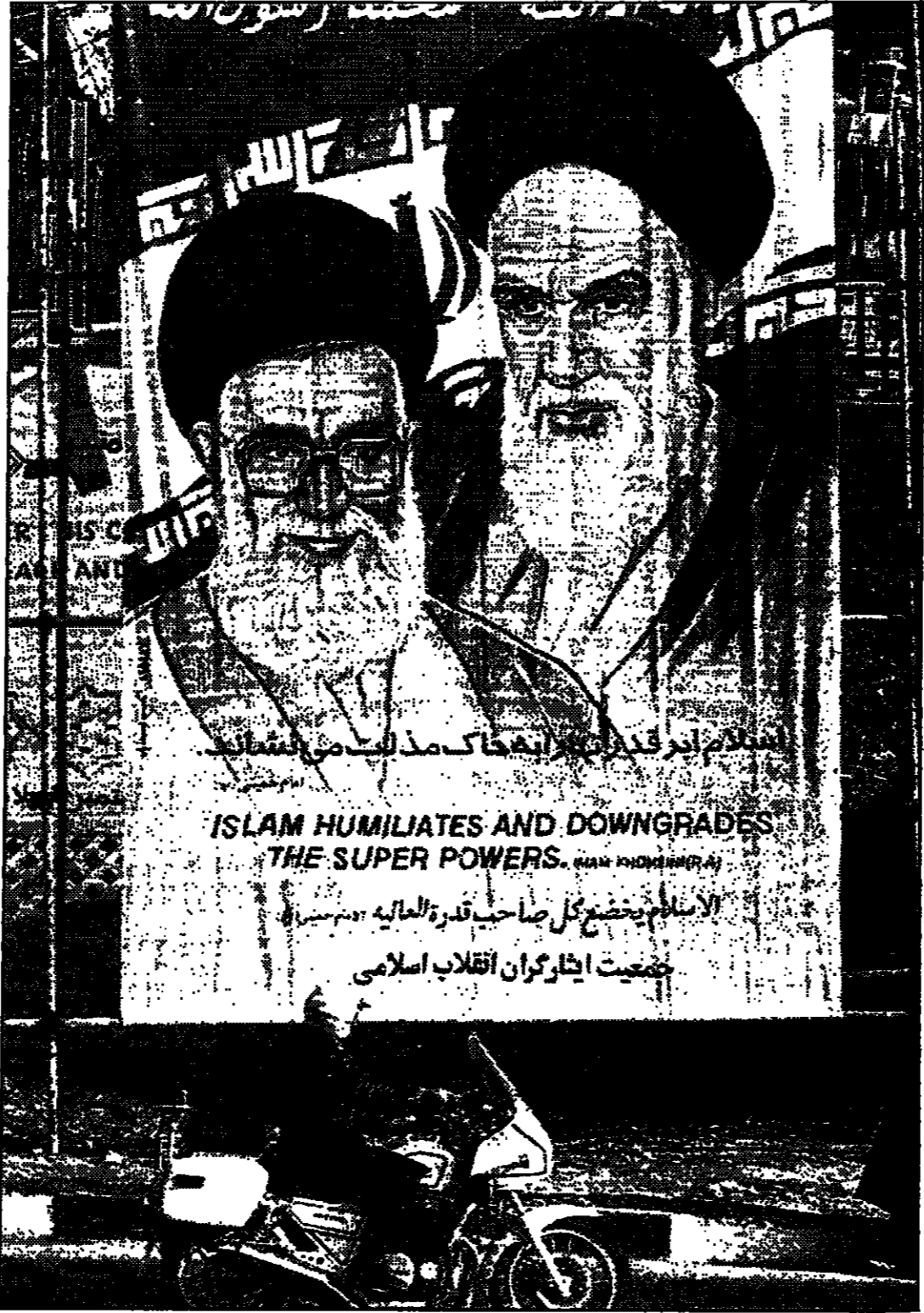
The strength of that "people power" was displayed last week when millions of Iranians poured into the streets spontaneously to celebrate their national soccer team's qualification for the World Cup finals.

Scenes of mixed youth dancing in the street and an incident in which women forced their way into the national sports stadium, defying strict sex segregation, were unanimously seen as a political warning to the ruling clergy.

"The people want to show their power, that if they come out into the streets nothing can stop them," said Shahla Lahiji, a women's rights campaigner and publisher.

"Don't forget that most of our 60 million people are under the age of 25. The country is too young to be ruled by traditional or fundamentalist actions or ideas," she said.

Signs of a desire for greater debate and a liberalization of public life abound. More newspapers and magazines have been authorized since the election and offer a broader spectrum of opinion. Many women are wearing their compulsory Moslem head scarves more loosely.



An Iranian policeman rides his motorcycle next to a mural featuring the Ayatollah Khomeini (right) and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Iran's current spiritual leader. (AP)

# Rescuers comb site of Russian air crash

By MAURA REYNOLDS

IRKUTSK (AP) — Hundreds of rescue workers searched for victims in freezing weather yesterday after a cargo jet crashed into an apartment building, exploding in a massive fireball that engulfed surrounding homes and killed at least 62 people.

Rescue officials at the crash site said 62 bodies had been recovered, at least two other people were missing and rescue teams with sniffer dogs still were searching the debris. Some 1,400 emergency workers and soldiers worked through the Siberian winter cold in temperatures of minus 30 Centigrade.

"There was fire. Flames. There were no people. Nothing but flames," said Galina Dmitrova, one of the first emergency workers to arrive at the scene of Saturday's crash.

Crying relatives of missing people watched the rescue operations. One woman, whose husband was missing, sobbed as she pointed at the wreckage of her apartment.

"All I can find are my kitchen knives," she said, begging people to find her husband. Thirteen people, including 8 children, were hospitalized with severe burns following the crash, officials said.

Parts of the wreckage were still smoldering more than 24 hours after the jumbo jet-size An-124 slammed into the neighborhood of the Siberian city just seconds after taking off.

Leonid Ismailov, deputy director of the Irkutsk Rescue Service, said officials did not know what caused the crash of the An-124, one of the biggest planes in the world.

"The pilot, the crew, they were lying right there," he said, pointing at where the crew's bodies were found. "Only two of them were in uniform."

The jumbo jet-sized aircraft of the Russian air forces' transport command was carrying 23 people. The pilot radioed the control tower seconds after taking off, saying power had been lost in two engines. The Interfax News Agency reported.

Russian news reports suggested poor fuel may have caused engine failure during take off. Other possible explanations were that the plane's cargo had shifted or pilot error. The plane's black box flight recorders were recovered and sent to Moscow.

The An-124 crashed just 20 seconds after taking off from a factory airfield in Irkutsk, where it had picked up a cargo of two jet fighters being exported to Vietnam. It ploughed into a five-story apartment building and its wing clipped a neighboring orphanage.

# Auschwitz Catholic crosses removed

WARSAW (AP) — Catholic crosses and Star of David symbols, more than a decade, were removed last week from the grounds of Auschwitz, the camp's museum director said yesterday.

Jerzy Wroblewski said that on Wednesday, eight crosses were turned over to the St. Joseph Roman Catholic church in the nearby city of Oswiecim and 11 Star of David symbols were given to the Jewish History Institute in Warsaw.

The decision was taken following protests by Jewish groups

around the world against the presence of crosses at the Jewish memorial and cemetery.

Miles Lerman, head of the Holocaust Museum Foundation in Washington, in a letter to Poland's leaders praised removal of the religious symbols as "overcoming the last barrier on the path to a historic agreement that will permanently preserve and protect Auschwitz-Birkenau, the largest Nazi death camp."

The white wood symbols were placed at the camp in 1984 and 1986 by young Poles doing maintenance work in Birkenau.

# Three skydivers killed over South Pole

By PETER JAMES SPIELMANN

SYDNEY (AP) — In the first attempt to skydive at the South Pole, three people plunged to their deaths yesterday when their parachutes failed to open.

They were among six skydivers on the jump, organized by Adventure Network International, a private company that has been flying tourists to the South Pole since 1988.

The names of the victims and survivors were not released by US Antarctic officials. The cause of the accident was not immediately known.

A notice circulated to US Antarctic staff by Dwight Fisher, the US National Science Foundation representative at McMurdo Station, confirmed the deaths.

The notice, forwarded to The Associated Press, provided this account:

The skydivers made their attempt yesterday from a Twin Otter airplane, the type ANI usual-

ly uses to fly tourists to the South Pole for a quick visit.

Three chutes failed to open, and the South Pole doctor and emergency team found the bodies after a short search.

Adventure Network International flew the bodies and survivors later yesterday to their base camp at Patriot Hills, between the Ellsworth Mountains and the Ronne Ice Shelf, on the South American side of Antarctica.

From there they were to return to Punta Arenas, Chile, where ANI has an office. It also has an office in London.

Adventure Network International has no connection with the US Antarctic Program or National Science Foundation.

In addition to the South Pole flights, it also organizes mountain climbing expeditions and visits to penguin rookeries. Since no nation owns Antarctica, private companies may organize expeditions to any part of the continent they can reach.



French archeologist Alain Zivie holds a photograph of a relief on the wall of the tomb of Tutankhamen's wet nurse, Maya. (AP)

# Archeologists find Tutankhamen's wet nurse

By JASPER MORTIMER

CAIRO (AP) — French archeologists have discovered the tomb of the wet nurse of Tutankhamen, the boy-pharaoh whose golden coffins and burial treasures have fascinated generations, the head of the team announced Saturday.

Archeologist Alain Zivie said he hopes the tomb of Maya will shed light on the identity of King Tut's parents.

Tutankhamen's father is widely believed to have been the Pharaoh Akhenaten. As to his mother, "there are all sorts of theories, but she is not known," Zivie told a news conference.

Some experts believe Tut was the son of one of Akhenaten's secondary wives, Kiya. Others theo-

rize he was a brother of Akhenaten, whose mother was Queen Tiye.

The tomb, which dates to 1330 BCE, was found in Saqqara, an ancient necropolis that is about 20 kilometers south of Cairo. The existence of a wet nurse to Tut had not been previously known.

Archeologists have explored only part of the multi-chambered tomb, but the reliefs of Tutankhamen, the nurse Maya, and accompanying hieroglyphics leave no doubt as to the identity of the occupant, Zivie said.

A detailed relief of Maya, showing a breast and nipple, is entitled the one "who fed the body of god," Zivie said. The boy Pharaoh was regarded as a god.

It was "extremely rare" for the

ancient Egyptians to devote a whole tomb to a single woman, Zivie said.

The team has cleared two of the five known chambers. A third is filled with rubble, and two others are sealed off with masonry. Zivie expects one of the sealed chambers to lead down to rooms on one or more lower levels.

The archeologists have not yet found any gold or funerary objects, nor have they found Maya's coffin.

"This is the beginning of the story," Zivie said. "There may be discoveries inside the discovery. We can hope that this tomb ... has escaped modern robbers and that we will be able to find interesting historic and artistic material, but clearly we cannot promise any-

thing."

He said excavation of the entire tomb could take two years.

The tomb lies at Saqqara, which was the burial site for the courtiers and high-ranking officials of ancient Egypt's New Kingdom, which prevailed from about 1400 BCE to 1100 BCE.

Most of the pharaohs, Tutankhamen included, were buried in the Valley of the Kings near Luxor, about 500 kilometers south of Cairo.

Zivie, research director at the National Center of Scientific Research in Paris, has spent many years exploring tombs at Saqqara. Previously, he found gold objects in the tomb of a New Kingdom prime minister.

# Scandal over German neo-Nazi's army speech

By ANDREW GRAY

BONN (Reuters) — Opposition politicians called on Chancellor Helmut Kohl's government yesterday to explain to parliament how a convicted neo-Nazi leader was invited to give a speech to a training course for German army officers.

The Defense Ministry said it had launched an investigation into how Manfred Roeder, a former lawyer who spent eight years in prison for a racist bomb attack, had been able to speak at the army's prestigious staff college in Hamburg in 1995.

The embarrassing revelation, to be published in today's edition of the weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*, was the latest in a series of cases linking the post-war German army, the Bundeswehr, with right-wing radicalism.

Roeder, now 68, was jailed in 1982 for leading a group which carried out attacks on immigrant hostels in which two Vietnamese people died and several were injured.

He was released in 1990 and is cited in the latest annual report of Germany's anti-extremist watchdog agency under a section on right-wing extremist activities.

"Roeder has been more publicly active again since the end of 1995 and is appearing more frequently as a speaker at functions of right-wing extremist organizations," the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution's report says.

Angelika Beer, defence spokeswoman for the Greens party, said the ministry's pledge merely to investigate how Roeder came to speak at the college on the subject of ethnic Germans in Russia was not good enough.

"Trivializing the fact that neo-fascists have been invited to politically educate members of the Bundeswehr must have parliamentary consequences," she said yesterday.

Hans Buetner, a member of the Social Democrats, tabled urgent parliamentary questions over the affair, asking Kohl to consider if Defense Minister Volker Ruehe should be dismissed.

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# Pope welcomes canned version of St. Peter's

VATICAN CITY (Reuters) — Pope John Paul II yesterday gave his blessing to a group of charity workers who have built a huge replica of St. Peter's Basilica on the outskirts of Rome made entirely out of cans.

The scale model, which uses 10 million aluminium cans and is one-fifth the size of the biggest church in Christendom, has been put together by around 40 supporters of blood and organ donor charities.

"My thoughts, in a special and warm way, go to the volunteers of the AVIS-AIDO [charities]," the pope said in his weekly address from the balcony of the real St. Peter's. "I congratulate those that have undertaken this initiative."

The replica, which was officially opened to the public on Saturday, is made predominantly from bright red Coca Cola cans. It measures 95 meters long, 48 meters wide, and 29 meters high, with a 20-meter wide dome.

مكتبة القدس

# Be PC - love your brother

## Movie Review



By Adina Hoffman

**N**othing to Lose is a shamelessly formulaic buddy comedy that stars Tim Robbins and Martin Lawrence as a well-to-do white guy and a down-on-his-luck black guy, respectively, who meet up when the latter tries to mug the former.

Little does T. (Lawrence) know, but at the time of the attempted robbery Nick (Robbins) has just come home early from work and discovered his wife in bed with another man: he's feeling unattractively mean as a result and so refuses to let his attacker out of his car. The two cruise out of LA and into the desert, exchange the usual volley of racially charged insults, have a clumsy fist fight in the sand and, after overcoming their standard-issue bad rapport, become



Inept carjacker T. Paul (Martin Lawrence, left) and adman Nick Beam (Tim Robbins) become the odd couple of the road.

### NOTHING TO LOSE

Written and directed by Steve Oedekerk. Hebrew title: *Ein ma lafagid*. 100 minutes. English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised.

standard-issue best pals, deciding in the process that skin color and social class should be no obstacle to their joining together to commit a major felony.

Although writer/director Steve Oedekerk does manage a few neat stylistic tricks - he treats the soundtrack as one of the players, for instance, letting it stop and respond and even talk back at various points in the action - the

script relies on a series of complications and contrivances so familiar, obvious and lame, their use seems almost audacious. (The film's resolution is broadcast in the first five minutes, which may be a new record.)

Oedekerk's broad approach to the silly material - overplaying each gag, drawing most jokes out well past the funny point - worked a bit better in his *Ace Ventura* films (he wrote the first and directed the second of those lively peens to arrested development). This success, though, was due mostly to Jim Carrey, who's

such an inventive performer that he's able to sustain and even improve on a dumb punch line, the longer it lingers. In those films, comic stupidity was treated with a certain relish: the cruder and cornier the joke, the better. Good taste was dismissed entirely and Carrey given carte blanche to run wild.

But Oedekerk doesn't allow the stars of *Nothing to Lose* Carrey's license to riff. And though both Lawrence, a big-eared, muggy squirt, and the more dryly smirk-prone Robbins can be amusing at times, the director pushes their

obvious differences way over the top at the same time that he hems the characters in and confines them to type. The film follows a basic have-your-cake-and-eat-it-too design, first following the lead of films like *48 Hours* and *Lethal Weapon* and finding edgy humor in the barely masked racial tensions between the two main players.

(Lawrence calls Robbins "white boy" and Robbins condescends by telling Lawrence he really should get a job.) Then, after all the noisy slapstick and in-your-face stereotype of the early parts, Oedekerk

claims up and offers a tidy love-your-brother message which seems more than a little disingenuous after all the ha-ha hostility that's preceded.

It's typical, however, of the socially aware new commercial American pictures coming our way these days that the single subject treated with caution and nuance is race relations. In the politically correct but flamboyantly infantile world these films represent, blacks and whites are equally free - free to crack flatulence jokes, free to be truly vulgar.

## A new direction for the IPO?

By MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

**W**hen British-born conductor Antonio Pappano, the music director of the La Monnaie Opera House in Brussels, was appointed chief guest conductor of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra last year, there was speculation that this was just a stepping-stone to the position of IPO music director.

Granted, the IPO has a music director, Zubin Mehta, who was awarded the position for life, but for many years there have been rumors that Mehta might want to step down, especially with his own new appointment as music director of the Bavarian Staatsoper in Munich beginning next season. Mehta has said on many occasions that the best replacement when and if he steps down - "only if they ask me" - would be Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim. But Barenboim is too busy running both the Chicago Symphony and the Deutsche Staatsoper Berlin.

So is Pappano the ideal solution? Is he indeed going to be the new IPO music director?

Pappano, having spent about a month with the orchestra, says that as far as he is concerned the new title means "an invitation to spend more time with the orchestra. This year it's a month, next year it will

be more. Each year my time with the orchestra will increase. The ideal time would be two months a year. And there will be mutual benefits. I want to expand my symphonic repertoire, and the orchestra is doing opera which is where I come from anyway. But I don't know; I can't tell you where it will go."

This month, Pappano leads the IPO in concert performances of Verdi's *Otello* and in several orchestral concerts with the Faure *Requiem* and other compositions by Pergolesi and Honegger, and even Beethoven's Fifth, which was not originally scheduled.

Is this because of popular audience demand after the recent success of Beethoven's Ninth? "Not really. I will do this work with the orchestra on our European tour in a few months, and I must do it with them in concert before. As we could not arrange any concert dates before the tour, we decided to add it to the subscription concerts."

Pappano takes the IPO on a tour of London, Geneva, Paris and Brussels, where the program comprises the Beethoven *Egmont* overture and the Fifth Symphony, including a concerto with alternating soloists Murray Perahia, Maxim Vengerov and Jane Eaglen. A few weeks ago, Pappano was thrilled to find out that his record-



British-born Pappano will be spending more time here.

ing of Puccini's *La Rondine* won the prestigious *Gramophone* magazine Record of the Year award.

"It was a bit of a surprise. I knew we were going to win the Opera Disc of the Year award, but I never

thought about the bigger award. I was thrilled because it's a piece I love. It's full of great tunes. It's really a great opera which is not often performed because, frankly, the last act is not that good."

At 37, Pappano says the only thing he has to contend with is physical and mental fatigue. He now limits his engagements to specific orchestras (Berlin Philharmonic, London Symphony and Cleveland) and not much opera, aside from Brussels and his upcoming Bayreuth Festival debut in 1999 with *Lohengrin*.

Will he have the stamina to become the new IPO music director? Will Pappano be interested if the offer is made? "If it happens, that's great. If not, that's fine too. Either way, I'm in Brussels until 2003 and would not have time for such a position before that. But let's wait and see. I feel I'm being tested, which is all right with me because I don't think anybody can test me more critically than I test myself."

Next season Antonio Pappano leads the IPO in concert performances of Tchaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin* and orchestral programs of music by Schoenberg, Brahms, Shostakovich, Schubert and Mahler. This month he leads the IPO in concerts at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv until December 22.

## Ashdod orchestra on the warpath

By HELEN KAYE

**A**shdod's Israel Andalusian Orchestra (IAO) is on the warpath. It's not that it has canceled its season or is swinging tomahawks, but "it's time," says IAO general manager Moti Malca, "for oriental cultural institutions to begin getting their proper share of the public arts funding."

He was speaking at the press conference introducing the IAO's third season, which encompasses five programs of the classical North African music inspired by the area's Moorish and Jewish influences, together with Arabic classical music and contemporary Andalusian-inspired Israeli compositions. One of this season's highlights is a concert with guest star Avi Toledano, who'll sing Andalusian classics with a nod to

The IAO is a chamber orchestra of immigrant musicians from the former USSR who have accustomed themselves to the very un-Western tonalities of Andalusian music," says IAO founder, music director and musicologist, Dr. Avi Ilam-Amsaleg. "They have even learned to improvise within the

genre which is at the heart of this music."

The string players are accompanied by an ensemble of traditional instrument players, such as the oud and the wooden flute.

In its first two seasons, the IAO has more than doubled its subscribers from a few hundred to more than 3,000 in the nine locations countrywide (10 this year), where it has performed regularly.

"People are hungry for their music," says Malca. "We get scores of letters asking us to come back, for more of this kind of music," as opposed to the pseudo-oriental rhythms that are also popular among Sephardi Israelis.

And that is where the problem lies. Sephardi culture has been shortchanged in favor of Western (read "European") cultural values ever since the first immigrants from Russia arrived here at the end of the 19th century.

"This is not conjecture but fact, and now the country's Sephardi community is waking up, and the IAO with it."

"Why haven't we received our subsidy from the Ashdod municipality?" asks Malca rhetorically, adding that the mayor's office

wanted the IAO to merge with the Ashdod Chamber Orchestra "for budgetary reasons, but they've found the money to fund a huge production of *La traviata*" (the Verdi opera premiered in Ashdod at the end of last month). The Andalusian Orchestra, he contends, makes more sense for the city, which is almost 80% Sephardi.

Last year singer and Jerusalem city councilman Yehoram Gaon was similarly blunt about his reasons for pushing the Jerusalem-based Center for Classical Oriental Music and Dance.

"The study of oriental music, and I mean mainly the music of the Islamic countries, is barely a comma in the syllabus of our music schools," he said then, adding that "the melting-pot theory of the '50s never happened, and immigrants from North Africa and the Near East found their music and their culture denied."

The Jerusalem center gets a tiny budget from the municipality. The IAO gets 54% of its NIS 2.74 million budget from the Arts and Culture Authority (ACA), 25% is earned income, and another NIS 540,000 (20%) comes from the Ashdod municipality.

But the municipality has paid up less than half of that, and the ACA told IAO that not only would it not get the requested parity with the almost same-size Beersheba Sinfonietta but that its 1997 budget would be NIS 570,000, or less than half the promised NIS 1.5m.

The IAO is at the bottom of a funding totem pole in which, according to IAO figures, NIS

78.9m. goes to Western-type musical institutions and NIS 1.5m. to itself. And Israelis of North African or Near Eastern origin make up some 50% of the population. Even if the figures are not totally correct, they certainly are a little lopsided.

The Ashdod municipality could not be reached for comment due to the *Histadrut* strike.

**ESRAVISION** TODAY!  
TV CHANNEL 9  
Yiddish Theater - Scenes with Atzmon & Son  
ESRA Nearly New Shop; ESRA Events.

Tevel - Tel Aviv - Dan Area	6.30 p.m.
Mataav - Haifa Town Area	5.00 p.m.
Netanya Area	7.30 p.m.
Idan - Central & Southern Area	7.30 p.m., 9.30 p.m.
Arutzel Zahav - Dan & Sharon Areas	9:30 a.m., 9:00 p.m.

## NEWS of the muse

**Brush up your Yiddish!**

Last year's festival was such a success that they're doing it again. On December 28, the second week-long International Yiddish Festival gets under way at the Nevech Ilan Resort Hotel near Jerusalem. The headliner is songstress Nehama Handel. There will also be klezmer concerts, a Yiddish cabaret with Mendi Cohen and his troupe, readings from Yiddish literature, and even a trip to Masada with Yiddish explanations.

Helen Kaye

**Award-winning musicians and conductors**

The Music Division of the local Council for the Arts has announced the winners of this year's awards for performing musicians. Maestro Mendi Rodan was awarded a special prize for his outstanding lifelong achievements. The Jerusalem Quartet won the prize for chamber music ensemble. Flutist Noam Buchman and pianist Benji Hochman won prizes for first-rate performance of Israeli music. A special prize to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the State of Israel was awarded to alto Mira Zakai. The award will be presented at a ceremony on December 25 at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

While Rodan received his own award, one of his students, conductor Ronen Burshevsky, won third prize in the prestigious conducting competition held recently in Tokyo. Of the 65 young conductors from 32 countries who participated in the competition, Burshevsky was the youngest finalist. His award consists of \$5,000 plus a contract for concerts in Japan. There was no first prize awarded in the competition.

Michael Ajzenstadt

**Musical chairs**

Leor Segal, general director of the Leonard Bernstein International Music Competition Jerusalem, was appointed general director of the Haifa Symphony Orchestra, replacing Ben-Ami Enav, who was appointed general director of the BatSheva Dance Company.

Arthur Post was appointed associate conductor of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, replacing Mendi Rodan who left the position when he was appointed music director of the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon LeZion. The American conductor makes his IPO debut December 9, leading the IPO in a family concert.

Michael Ajzenstadt

**Happy birthday, Zvi Avni!**

The local music community is celebrating the 70th birthday of composer Zvi Avni with a series of concerts throughout the country, including a concert at the Jerusalem Rubin Music Academy on December 17, where six of his works will be performed. Last week the Tel Aviv Municipality celebrated the occasion with a festive concert of Avni's works.

Michael Ajzenstadt

**Female prisoners and teenage girls**

A photography exhibition featuring the works of photographer Debbie Taylor-Zimelman opens today in Jerusalem at the photography gallery of the Bezalel Art School on the Mount Scopus campus of the Hebrew University. The exhibition, which will run through January 1, 1998, features portraits of prisoners in the country's only women's prison, Nevech Tirtza, and of teenage girls from London and Jerusalem. The above photo of 12-year-old Sophie Lurie (left) and Lindsey Waugh was taken at a railway station in London.

The exhibition, whose official opening takes place tomorrow at 6 p.m., is open to the public from Sunday - Thursday, 9 a.m. - 6 p.m. Taylor-Zimelman also works as a freelance photographer for *The Jerusalem Post*.

Jerusalem Post Staff

**SEE IT IN HEBREW - HEAR IT IN ENGLISH!**

**FATHER OF THE GROOM**

December 9, at 8:30 p.m.

There's going to be a wedding. The groom has not invited his father, but the bride's mother has done so in secret. The father of the groom arrives at the wedding - with a vengeance! For the wedding to be as a wedding should be he brings a Russian accordionist he found in the street, and his blind son who longs to be a bride. The expected explosion is, of course, unavoidable.

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Russian air crash

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## A costly strike

The Histadrut strike is over, at least for now. And while the government may have won a crucial point, it has paid a high price for this victory.

If, as a result of this showdown, the Histadrut has swallowed a change that puts the public-sector pension system on the road to a financially sound footing, that would be a major government achievement. The price, however, may be a Histadrut strengthened by its having brazenly flouted court orders without being punished. In his press conference yesterday, Finance Minister Yaakov Neeman highlighted the government's looming pension obligations: NIS 163 billion for government workers, about NIS 300b. when all public-sector enterprises are taken into account. As Neeman pointed out, the question is not whether such sums can be paid, but at whose expense. Either the defense, education, and social welfare budgets would have to be slashed, or the government would have to raise taxes or print money. None of these alternatives are particularly attractive, and even Histadrut Chairman Amir Peretz knows this.

Israel, like many other Western democracies, is confronting the need to stop making open-ended financial commitments to its people, in effect slapping future generations with a bill for promises made today. Even Sweden was forced to overhaul its social spending system when spiraling deficits forced interest rates up, and Germany and Italy are facing serious pension crises which are not over yet.

What Neeman may have accomplished with yesterday's agreement is to switch the pension system from an item in the budget, riding on automatic pilot towards a cliff, to an off-budget system of contributions into managed pension funds. This agreement only would apply to new workers entering the system, so it does not solve the problem of existing obligations, but it does prevent the government from going deeper in the hole.

This accomplishment is tempered by two facts: Those huge pension obligations are still looming, so the next confrontation over pensions is probably just a matter of time; and the Histadrut was allowed to get away with a serious challenge to the rule of law, and therefore could well repeat the tactic in the future.

While both employers and employees have

violated labor court orders in the past, this may be the first time the Histadrut as a body has done so in a nationwide strike. Labor courts cannot hand out prison sentences, but they can impose stiff fines for contempt of court. But when the Histadrut ignored the court order — after Neeman's ill-timed and ill-tempered outburst that gave them the excuse — the government continued to negotiate and no fines were imposed. Even more significantly, the Histadrut came out of its illegal strikes with most of its demands met.

The Histadrut succeeded in signing the Treasury on to the controversial "yellow note" agreement between Peretz and then-finance minister Avraham Shohat, which further sweetened the existing untenable pension system, though the Treasury did succeed in capping the potential pension increase to NIS 650 a month. In an even more far-reaching victory, the Histadrut received a commitment to negotiate with them on all the major items on the economic reform, such as privatization, structural reform, and child allowances.

It is tempting to believe that both sides will have emerged from so massive and destructive a strike committed to solving future problems at the negotiating table. But the danger is now that the Histadrut has succeeded in crossing the line set by the court, it either will do so again, or will effectively use the implied threat of a repeat performance to extract more concessions from the government. This increased power does not bode well for the future of the economy in general, and the government's economic reform program in particular.

Now, more than ever, the government cannot rely on pure political muscle to push its programs through, even when it is representing the best interests of the entire economy. The fact that the government's economic case is so strong, however, means that there is no reason to shy away from selling its program to the public, thereby undercutting the Histadrut's power from its base.

When Neeman stated that unemployment was the nation's No. 1 problem, he was on the right track. The key to this battle will be convincing the public that economic reform can create a tide that will raise all boats, not least of all those of society's weakest sectors.

## Minority power

YOSEF GOELL

The headline in last Thursday's paper: "Half of Israeli Arabs oppose flying national flag over schools," was typical of the glass-is-half-empty vs. the glass-is-half-full situations.

I would have been more impressed by the choice of a "glass-is-half-full" headline: "42 percent of Israeli Arabs favor flying national flag over schools," because the choice Israeli Arabs are making should be seen in a broader international and historic context. (The headline headed a report of a survey conducted by Dr. Eli Rekhess of Tel Aviv University's Program for the Study of Arab Politics in Israel.)

I know that 130 years after the end of the United States' traumatic Civil

It is only when one realizes that the Arab minority in Israel is much closer to the Yugoslav and Ulster examples than to the American one, that it becomes possible to grasp the full import of 42 percent of Israeli Arabs agreeing to fly Israel's flag "only a short" half century after the trauma of the 1948 war.

One of the main findings of the survey is that Israeli Arabs are becoming aware of their growing political power. This has been further magnified by the newly introduced direct popular elections of the prime minister. In 1996, the Arabs voted overwhelmingly for Labor's Shimon Peres. They still indicate a preference for Labor's Ehud Barak to the Likud's Binyamin Netanyahu, but many are also threatening to withhold their first-round vote from Barak and vote for an Arab candidate. Many Arabs say they want to create an Arab political bloc that would rival the Jewish religious bloc as a balance of power between the two major governing parties — Labor and the Likud. This has led some Jews on the extreme Right to demand that Israeli Arabs be denied the vote.

There is real cause to suspect the motivations and loyalties of many Israeli Arabs on issues that touch on our conflict with their Palestinian cousins. The way to deal with this problem is not to undermine our democracy by denying the Arabs the vote, but rather by neutralizing their impact on that specific issue by pressing the major leaders of both the Likud and Labor to rise above themselves and hammer out a practical Jewish Israeli consensus on the Palestinian issue.

Israeli Arabs, for their part, should realize that minorities must use their political power wisely and with restraint. They are fully entitled to use their political power to fight for greater equality with Jews. They should, however, flee as from fire any overt involvement in crucial

### Israeli Arabs should realize that minorities must use their political power wisely and with restraint

War, the Confederate "Stars and Bars" is still flown in many locales in the defeated South. Three or four decades ago it was flown not only as a redneck joke or a youthful prank but as a widely supported declaration of continued defiance of the hated Yankee North. Such animosities fade slowly indeed, even when the war they seek to commemorate was between "cousins" from the same ethnic group.

When the historic wars in question were between rival ethnic and religious groups, the animosities tend to be jealously preserved and even exacerbated over centuries. This was the case in former Yugoslavia, where the memories of who was on what side during the Turkish invasion of seven centuries ago were sufficient to trigger a mini-genocide earlier this decade.

## Dry Bones



decisions resolving our conflict with the Palestinians and Syrians. If they do not, they will find that they will have invited a serious backlash, which could undermine their achievements on the equality front. Neither Jew nor Arab should desire such a setback.

The problem is not only with the Arabs, but with the Jews too, as was shown last week by the shameful firebombing of a Jerusalem apartment rented by three Arab women students at the Hebrew University. It is no secret that there are vicious, racist Arab-haters among Israeli Jews, especially of the newly aggressive fundamentalist variety, just as there are vicious Jew-haters among the Arab population. But Mayor Ehud Olmert failed the test of leadership miserably when he sought to draw a parallel between

the violent act against the young Arab women and political opposition to Jews coming to live in Jerusalem's Ras al-Amud.

The mayor should have used the opportunity to find Jewish landlords to volunteer to rent an alternative apartment for the terrorized Arab women. For that matter, the Hebrew University should have moved heaven and earth to find such volunteers to welcome the firebombed women.

It is in our interest as Jews to help Israeli Arabs integrate fully into Israel. The problem is that we Jews have the finely honed 2,000-year-old instincts of a persecuted minority; but only 50 years of experience as a majority, and we haven't made the switch comfortably, as yet.

The writer comments on public affairs.

## Global warming fundamentalists

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

The world is meeting in Kyoto, Japan, to decide how much wreckage to visit upon the Western economies to prevent global warming. Kyoto aims to seriously reduce greenhouse gas emissions, which would seriously curtail energy use and, with it, economic growth. All under the premise that humans produce global warming and that global warming will produce a human catastrophe. Is this true?

There has been a very slight warming of the earth's atmosphere in this century (although one still has to explain why satellite and balloon data show no net temperature rise in the past 19 years).

But first, it is not clear how much is caused by natural variation only. Second, even assuming a substantial human contribution, it is not clear what, say, a doubling of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions would do to temperatures.

You get can get answers by modeling. But scientific models are notoriously subject to the tweaking of underlying assumptions. The predictions of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change have already been significantly modified. In 1990 it predicted a 6-degree (F) rise by 2100. The prediction now is down to a 3 1/2-degree rise, a 40 percent drop. And there is a huge range of uncertainty: The lower-end estimate is less than 2 degrees F.

But uncertainty is a feeling foreign to global warming fundamentalists, many of them now gathered in

Kyoto. Take that great American evangelist, Vice President Gore, a last-minute attendee. Now, Gore may turn out to be the environmentalists' villain because he fears infuriating his labor allies at home if he agrees to serious curbs on US CO<sub>2</sub> (and thus energy) production. But whatever he ends up doing for personal political reasons, it is clear what he believes. Just two months

Indeed, "the doubling of carbon dioxide" — which is what Kyoto is trying so desperately to prevent — "would produce a temperature change of less than one degree [centigrade]." Schneider argued then that the real threat was global cooling: The production of aerosols screening earth from the sun could produce "a decrease of the mean surface temperature by as much as

### This is nuclear winter without the nukes

ago, he likened those who question global warming to tobacco executives who with a "straight face" denied that smoking causes cancer. This is a serious charge: not just error, but bad faith.

This attitude is echoed by many scientists. Stephen Schneider, a Stanford scientist and participant at Clinton and Gore's Global Climate Change Roundtable last July, has said that when it comes to global warming it is "journalistically irresponsible to present both sides." It is worth noting that 25 years ago this same Schneider was vociferously denying global warming. Even a tenfold increase in human production of carbon dioxide, he wrote, "which at the present rate of input is not expected within the next several thousand years" is "unlikely to produce a runaway greenhouse effect on Earth."

3.5 degrees centigrade," which "if sustained over a period of several years... could be sufficient to trigger an ice age."

This is nuclear winter without the nukes. And this was no offhanded comment. This was a paper in the prestigious journal *Science*, complete with equations containing a gaudy excess of exponents and Greek subscripts.

NOR was Schneider alone. In the 1970s, which were — surprise! — cold, global cooling was the vogue. Nigel Calder, former editor of *New Scientist*, said in 1975 that "the threat of a new ice age must now stand alongside nuclear war as a likely source of wholesale death and misery for mankind." And *Science Digest* declared that "how carefully we monitor our atmospheric pollu-

tion will have direct bearing on the arrival and nature of this weather crisis" — i.e., a new "ice age."

All this doom-saying provoked J. Murray Mitchell of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to remark in 1976 that "whenever there is a cold wave, they [the media] seek out a proponent of the ice-age-is-coming school and put his theories on page one... Whenever there is a heat wave... they turn to his opposite number [for a prediction of] a kind of heat death of the earth."

It is one thing to change your mind. It is another to then, with the zeal of the convert, write the view you have just abandoned out of polite society, as does Schneider by saying that journalists shouldn't even present the non-global warming view, and as does Gore when he makes skeptics into the moral equivalent of tobacco executives. Ironically, as climate change predictions become more malleable and contingent, climate change activists become more inflexible and intolerant.

The ease with which politicians, popularizers and even scientists can be caught up in popular enthusiasms for one doomsday or another should give us pause. This is not a call for ignoring climate change. It is a call for a modicum of humility before we go ahead and wreck the good life we've developed over 200 years in the name of a theory.

(Washington Post Writers Group)

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### CALLOUS DISREGARD

Sir, — The tirade against the Israel Defense Forces by Dr. Nancy Dubrow, director of the Taylor Institute International Child Welfare Group (November 30), who calls the Israel Defense Forces "a violator of the sanctity of human life" following the shooting death of an Arab boy during fierce rioting in Bethlehem, is yet one more blatant example of the callous disregard with which such organizations and their spokespersons view the murder of Jewish children at the hands of Arab terrorists.

Somehow, the firebombing of the Israeli bus (one of many such atrocities) in which Rachel Weiss, her three babies under the age of five, and the unborn child she was carrying, who were all burned to death; the cold-blooded shooting of Shlomo Lapid

together with his father Mordechai; the knife slaying of Helena Rapp; the killing and dismemberment of Ronan Karaman and Lior Tubul; the murder of young David Boim and countless others including children slain in the recent suicide bombings in Jerusalem... none of these young victims have elicited the passionate outrage and condemnation against the Arab perpetrators which Dr. Dubrow levels at Israel.

As to her assertion that "the shooting death of yet another innocent Palestinian child is a crime under every international treaty" and that "the IDF is responsible for the death of this child" I ask — are the deaths of Jewish children not a similar crime? Who is responsible for the deaths of our innocent chil-

dren? Who are the violators of the sanctity of their human lives?

In conclusion, Dr. Dubrow questions whether we believe that the "Palestinian community loves their children less than we Israelis love our own children, and would deliberately place them in harm's way." It would much more behoove her penetrating query to be directed at Yasser Arafat, who on numerous occasions, expressed his willingness to sacrifice millions of Arab men, women and yes, children, to achieve his goal of replacing Israel with a Palestinian state!

SHIFRA HOFFMAN  
 Founder and director, Victims of Arab Terror International, Jerusalem.

### SEX ON THE NET

Sir, — "Sex On the Net" (December 3) brought back memories of this summer when our computer school started children's programs and we discovered the problems of having to monitor chat groups and sex-site access. The latter problem was resolved with a 20 license version of "Net Nanny," one of the better commercial programs available which filters out obscenities and objectionable sites.

The monitoring of chat groups was a little more difficult, as

children tend to believe that what they are told on the Internet is the truth. We just set down the following rules and this has resolved the problem:

When you set up an e-mail account, never use your real name as your "handle" or "username."

Never reveal your phone number or address or any identifying personal details.

If the language or content on your chat group is objectionable, change rooms or if this is an option, report it to the moderator.

If you can be anyone you want on the Net, so can everyone else. Everything you see or hear on the Net is not true.

As far as objectionable content on cable TV is concerned, Arutz Zahav can provide you with a little black box which connects to your cable box and is password protected. It enables you to block access to channels which you find objectionable.

KATHY SALMANSON  
 Jerusalem.

## FROM OUR ARCHIVES

65 years ago: On December 8, 1932, *The Palestine Post* reported mounting opposition to the Palestine Legislature proposal made by the Government. The *Post* also criticized the proposed Education Bill and explained at length that a proposed Legislature might affect unfavorably the Jewish minority, while there was a need for an autonomy for Jewish schools as suggested by the Jewish Agency's Executive.

50 years ago: On December 8, 1947, *The Palestine Post* reported six more Jews and one Arab killed in various incidents. A

Jewish girl, Pessia Lev, 19, was shot by a sniper when a convoy was attacked near Bab el Wad, on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road. Five persons were injured in Jerusalem when No. 9 bus was attacked coming down from Mount Scopus.

Mobilization centers opened at various schools.

Sniping and arson continued in Haifa. Jewish shops were evacuated there from Khatib Street.

The Hagana beat off an Arab attack in Tel Aviv's Manshieh Quarter.

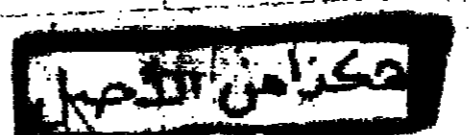
25 years ago: On December 8,

1972, *The Jerusalem Post* reported that congratulatory messages from all over the world were still pouring into its offices on the occasion of the newspaper's 40th anniversary.

What appeared to be large deposits of high-quality non-ferrous minerals were discovered in the Sinai Desert.

A compromise was reached in the UN General Assembly aimed at gaining more votes for a resolution asking the Security Council to take appropriate steps towards a Middle East peace settlement.

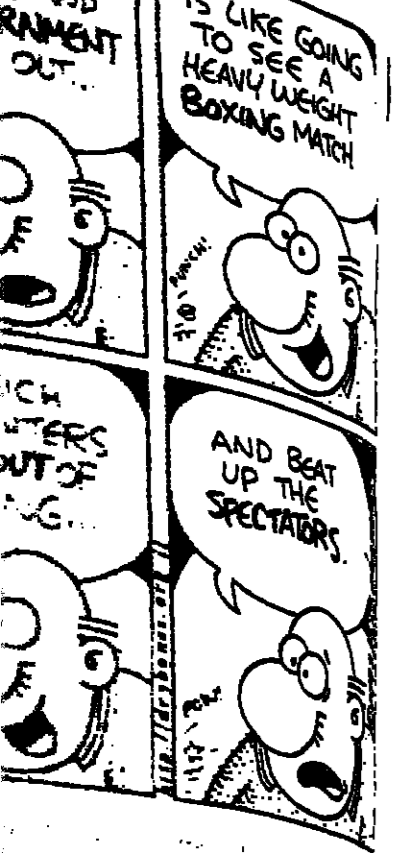
Alexander Zvielli





September 9, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

Try Bones



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Sunday, December 7, 1997

Vol. CXLVI—No. 50,999

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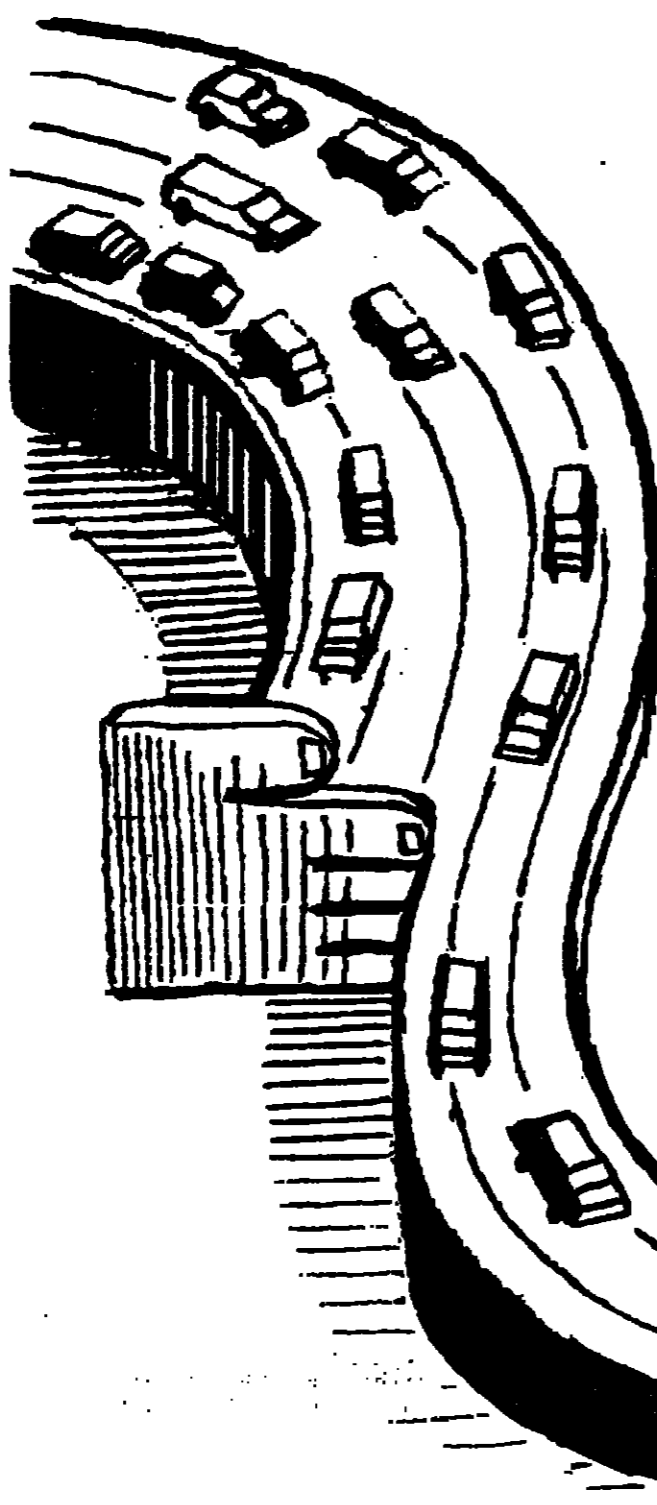
Weekly Review

Printed and distributed in Israel in association with The Jerusalem Post

Highway Patrol

The Self-Appointed Cops of the Information Age

By AMY HARMON



At a conference last week on protecting children from on-line pornography, Floyd Abrams, the First Amendment lawyer, was asked his view of the problems with software programs that screen out objectionable material.

The primary concern of the defenders of free speech has been resistance to government control. And the three-day meeting here of industry, government and advocacy-group representatives — the "On-line Summit" — came after a resounding victory for the civil libertarian cause on the Internet.

But even among digital libertarians, there is a growing fear that technology that can block huge portions of what the Court called "the most mass participatory medium yet invented" may pose a more potent threat to unfettered speech than the Government ever did.

Early next year, the Anti-Defamation League plans to distribute rating software that will screen out anti-Semitic Web sites. Catholic Telecom Inc., an Internet service provider run by Catholic Information Center on the Internet, based in Hillsdale, N.J., is

In cyberspace, Big Brother is not the main enemy of free speech.

also developing its own rating system. "Roman Catholics have their own standards based on the natural law and the revelations in the Old and New Testaments," said Catholic Telecom's president, James Mulholland Jr.

Just as the Communications Decency Act would have thrown out the baby with the bathwater, so does, it seems, some of the software the on-line industry and some advocacy groups propose as a substitute.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which led the constitutional challenge to the law, finds itself in unfamiliar territory: fighting private choices about speech. The A.C.L.U. declined to endorse the confer-

ence. "The Internet has changed the nature of the issue," said Barry Steinhardt, the A.C.L.U. associate director. "In order to preserve free speech values, you have to concern yourselves with the actions of the dominant private companies that will structure this medium."

Underlying this new debate is what Larry Lessig, the Harvard legal scholar, calls the "tyranny of code." In cyberspace, he argues, the constitutional values that govern in real space can effectively be suspended unless they are built into the software.

In Mr. Lessig's view, computer scientists like those at the World Wide Web Consortium who designed a filtering system called Platform for Internet Content Selection, or PICS, are the founding fathers of cyberspace; they have the power to grant liberties or encode them away. The designers of PICS made it adaptable to large-scale computer servers, raising concerns that repressive governments might use the system to screen for political material.

Civil libertarians object most strenuously to the fact that PICS — and other filters — fails to tell users which of the million-plus Web sites it is blocking. The system, which works with Microsoft's Web browser, looks for electronic "tags" on sites coinciding with a

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Backlash

In Medicine, Government Rises Again

By PETER PASSELL

HILLARY was right about health care. Well, not quite: Hardly anybody expects Congress to micro-manage medical services or to cap the maximum amount Americans are permitted to spend on insurance. But confidence that the health care system can solve its problems without a lot of help from Washington is rapidly evaporating.

As recently as a year or two ago, care regulated solely by the free market seemed the wave of the future, with feisty, profit-driven health maintenance organizations in the vanguard of the struggle to stamp out waste and remove medical specialists from the gravy train. Today, those H.M.O.'s are reporting falling earnings as they struggle with both angry consumers demanding better service and a medical establishment determined to resist any more cutbacks in fees.

So where to go from here? Surely not back to fee-for-service medicine fed by deep-pockets insurance that was too expensive a decade ago — and would be even more expensive now. And surely not forward to Government insurance, with bureaucrats deciding who gets a hip replacement or a new treatment for Alzheimer's: Congress flatly rejected that option in the debate over the cumbersome plan from the task force that Mrs. Clinton directed.

"We're going through a period of soul-searching," said Robert D. Reischauer, who was head of the Congressional Budget Office during the Bush Administration, "one that will lead to a period of experimentation" with more Government intervention than the insurance industry wants and less than the center-left had hoped for.

Or, to put it another way: Hillary Lite. The curtain is rising on a third act in a drama that opened in the 1980's, when most Americans were still enrolled in fee-for-service insurance plans through their employers. Health care costs were rising at a shocking five percentage points above the general rate of inflation — and, for obvious reasons. Since patients' co-payments and deductibles were generally small, and generous coverage was the norm, "medical services seemed almost free and providers were under little pressure to economize," said Mark Pauly of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business.

Act two began in 1990, with the recession and the first wave of corporate downsizing. With labor on the defensive, employers were able to contain rapidly escalating medical costs by forcing employees into "managed care" arrangements — in particular, into



Before managed care: a page from a history of medicine produced by Parke-Davis, the pharmaceutical company, a generation ago.

H.M.O.'s promising big savings. At first the H.M.O.'s delivered. Hard bargaining squeezed some fat out of the system, forcing hospitals to reduce costs by closing wings and holding the line on employment. Physicians, faced with the choice of lower fees or far fewer patients, reluctantly traded in their Mercedes-Benzes for Camrys.

Reality Check

Then, too, there was the Hillary Effect — the sobering impact of a year of debate over health care in which almost everyone acknowledged that business-as-usual was untenable. "I think providers really did become more reasonable," after the Clinton Admin-

istration went on the warpath in 1993, said Uwe Reinhardt, an economist at Princeton University.

The cost of insurance for large employers flattened, or even fell. And the average growth in medical outlays per person, which was 5.2 percentage points above the rate of inflation in the 1980's, was much lower — 3.4 percentage points higher than inflation — during the first half of the 1990's.

It's not that the fat is gone. "Two hospital beds in five are empty," Mr. Reischauer pointed out. "What industry in a competitive market could make a profit at 60 percent capacity?"

But the balance of bargaining power is shifting back toward providers. When just

one or two insurers controlled a large portion of a regional market, physicians had little choice but to accept whatever was offered. With more insurers competing, Mr. Reinhardt notes that doctors and hospitals in big cities may see patients from a dozen H.M.O.'s — and insurers can no longer dictate fees.

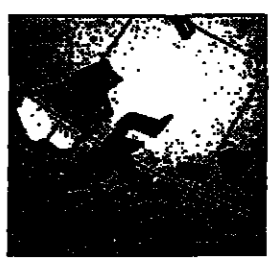
So in the last year or two, the H.M.O.'s have shifted from squeezing providers to denying consumers access to services deemed ineffective or unnecessary. And as a political matter, patients are becoming harder to push around. Sending new mothers home the day after giving birth, for example,

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A Newer New World Order In the post-global era, it's every nation for itself.

By Elaine Sciolino

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The Little Picture Another scandal sputters toward a non-conclusion.

By David Johnston

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That's Progress Humanity cries, 'Wait!' Science replies, 'What?'

By George Johnson

12



# The World

## It Turns Out That All Global Politics Is Local

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

**W**HAT ever happened to global Kumbaya — the we-are-the-world cooperative spirit that seemed only yesterday to have replaced the cold war?

Look at the headlines of the last few weeks: Most of America's closest allies refused to consider military action to force Saddam Hussein to admit United Nations weapons inspectors back into Iraq. Congress refused to give President Clinton the authority to negotiate trade agreements with the rest of the world. Efforts to reduce global warming are mired in disagreements large and small at a big summit meeting in Japan. The United States, China and Russia, big producers of land mines, refused to join 120 other nations signing a treaty in Ottawa banning the deadliest of the devices. It wasn't supposed to be this way. Early in the 1990's, dozens of countries joined the American-led military coalition to oust President Hussein's forces from Kuwait. The North American Free Trade Agreement and the enlargement of the world's trading system

For the 1990's, international cooperation is something of a grand illusion.

promised to topple trade barriers east and west, north and south. The United States and other developed nations set ambitious goals to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases at an environmental summit meeting in Brazil. And disarmament of all sorts was de rigueur. But it turns out that all the New Age collegiality was fleeting, or maybe just overstated. It was an afterglow of the end of the cold war, not the light of the future. Appearances to the contrary, countries had not redefined self-interest to mean the greatest global good. "The United States had won the cold war and was at the pinnacle of its power, so all the policies and preferences of the United States were translated into international politics," said Fareed Zakaria, managing editor of Foreign Affairs. "That was a momentary peak." Which is not to say that there are not forces — trade and technology, for example — driving countries slowly but surely toward greater integration and cooperation. It is just that an interplay of old national interests and new centers of power has made the process much more complex and unpredictable. Among the players beyond governmental control these days are nonprofit organizations armed not with weapons but with new technologies to pursue their agendas. The land-mine treaty, for example, might never have happened without an intensive campaign by private groups using high-speed, inexpensive global communications via the Internet and E-mail. And so the



Cuba and Iran, for example — and its refusal to compromise on smaller issues. If the United States had agreed to let a Frenchman head the southern command of NATO and had not tried to curb French investment in Iran, would France have been more amenable to military action against Iraq?

### 'Transgovernmentalism'

The dissipation of hopes for global amity has prompted an esoteric debate among academics and experts about what exactly is going on. In a recent article in Foreign Affairs titled "The Real New World Order," Anne-Marie Slaughter, a Harvard law professor, argued that "liberal internationalism" — under which institutions like the United Nations kept the peace after the cold war — had been replaced by a "new medievalism," with the nation-state in permanent decline. But actually something called "transgovernmentalism" is becoming "the most widespread form of international governance," she wrote. By that she means not that the state is disappearing, but that government agencies, including courts, regulatory structures, even legislatures, are building global networks with their counterparts abroad. Joseph S. Nye, dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, has launched a project called "Visions of Governance for the 21st Century." He has gone mathematical, offering a nine-cell matrix to describe the factors at work in governmental decisions today: national, subnational and supranational forces intersecting with the private sector, governments and nonprofit groups.

Despite all the messiness, the United States and the international community appear to have cooperated well in the new war against economic collapse — most recently with the current plan to bail out South Korea. They have marshaled their forces and taken swift, dramatic action to prevent instability.

"After the financial crisis in Mexico, there was talk about the principle of regional responsibility and leaving it to the United States," said Lawrence S. Summers, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury. "Now, with the Korean crisis, there is a general recognition of the principles of global responsibility."

Ultimately, the more than \$60 billion in loans to bail out South Korea will have to come from the world's taxpayers, so there is only so much patience for this sort of financial rescue.

There are other examples of New Age cooperation. NATO is drawing up plans that would keep NATO troops in Bosnia when their mandate runs out next June. And NATO's addition of three members from the former Warsaw Pact is proceeding better than expected.

"Obviously there are some things in which the international community is working in a collective fashion and some in which it is struggling," said Robert Zoellick, an Under Secretary of State during the Bush Administration. "It's not all or nothing."

Still, Mr. Zoellick, Mr. Zakaria and other foreign policy experts faulted the Clinton Administration for failing to develop long-term strategies for some of the world's thorniest problems, like Persian Gulf security. "It takes a lot of effort to maintain the world," said Mr. Zakaria. "But the Administration hasn't prioritized. You can't keep saying, 'I want your cooperation on everything.'"

United States and Russia, the powers pivotal to big weapons agreements of the recent past, were left on the sidelines.

### New Issues

The absence of global military tensions has given both countries and peoples a range of new issues to choose from in defining national security. Jessica Matthews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has written about the new search for "human security" emerging "from the conditions of daily life — food, shelter, employment, health, public safety — rather than flowing downward from a country's foreign relations and military strength." Finally, when it comes to the pursuit of national self-interest, it's hard to ignore the world's pre-eminent power: Some of the erosion of global goodwill can be attributed to annoyance over the United States' penchant for domestically driven economic sanctions — against

### Lost in Translation

## South Africa's American Romance

By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

**N**EXT month, choirs from the mixed-race neighborhoods of Cape Town will put on the city's best-known annual event: the Coon Carnival. They will paint their faces black with big white lips, pop on straw boaters, pluck banjos and parade through the streets singing what they call "coon classics" like "Daar Kom die Alabama," a paean heralding the Confederate raider that defeated two Union warships off Cape Town in 1863. And where did they get the idea? From American minstrel shows that toured here in the 1880's.

Do they care that the very name of the event horrifies Americans today? Not really. It's a South African tradition. Who are the Americans to butt in?

South Africans of all colors love American culture. But outside the doors of McDonald's franchises, they almost never get it right. Isolated by distance, decades of apartheid and varying levels of education, they know very little about American geography or history, so their versions of imports arrive as a strange grab bag that can be baffling, even jarring, to the Americans they mean to imitate.

Bits of Americana are ubiquitous. Stars-and-stripes bandanas hang from rear-view mirrors almost as often as pine tree air-fresheners do in New York City taxis. Chicago Bulls caps can be found on cricket fields and in Bushman villages. Rap D.J.'s on Soweto radio stations speak with accents straight out of Bed-Stuy, although consistency is not a strong point: some can slide into one sentence sounding like the Notorious B.I.G. and out like Cary Grant. Tanya Accone, a former Fulbright scholar in Washington, remembers pretending to be American when she was a teen-age mall rat here. "I'd trill along in this fake accent, and people would just flock to me, wanting to talk," she said. "I told them I was from Huntington Beach."

### Mickey Mouse

As in many countries, American music, movies and television are everywhere. The culture arrives unadulterated, except for a few obscenities and "Gods" bleeped out under censorship lingering from South Africa's Calvinist past. But it's the local imitations of American life that startle, because of the peculiar gaffes. Relatively few South Africans visit the United States, and many who do head straight for Disney World. So America gets reinterpreted with the kind of tunnel

vision found inside a Mickey Mouse costume. For example, every town with more than three paved streets has a Spurs Restaurant. The decor is Western, dominated by stained-glass murals of cattle drives and noble Indians. O.K., the \$10 steaks are served with "monkey gland" sauce (a Worcestershire-style condiment that, despite its name, contains no simian ingredient), but that's pardonable, since restaurateurs have to please local tastes. But walk in as an American, and one can't help but be struck by the thought: If this is a cowpoke steakhouse, why are the waiters wearing baseball uniforms? And what's the name of this place, anyway? Most of the Spurs have cowhide-tough handles like Apache Spur or Durango Spur, Laredo, Seven Eagles or Dakota. But there's also the New Orleans, the Potomac, the La Jolla and the Sausalito. Why? Because it doesn't matter. They're American.

The logo of Yankee Fast Foods is the

The sincerest but not the most accurate form of flattery.

Confederate stars and bars. The Moosehead, which pours Mexican Corona beer but not Canadian Moosehead, serves credible American regional cuisine, from buffalo wings to fried potato skins, but also makes a "Sioux Black Forest cherries jubilee" and "Maryland bouillabaisse." At the Walnut Grove, the "California breakfast" features orange juice and fried kippers. Franklin's Restaurant, which has paintings of the Continental Congress on the walls, used to have pictures of the Reagan and Bush cabinets. It serves gumbo and jambalaya.

What's the second-biggest gang in the mixed-race Cape Flats? The Americans. It has sub-gangs: the Young Americans, the Ugly Americans and the JFK's. They sport USA tattoos and learned their America in Rambo movies.

The connection actually goes back to the 1940's, when another gang called the Americans roamed Sophiatown, the black neighborhood in Johannesburg. The slang for a gang member — "tsotsi" — is thought to derive from "zoot suit."

What are the most popular American whiskeys? Jack Daniel's, Southern Comfort and something called Thomas Jefferson, which is bottled in Kentucky with a label explaining who Jefferson is. Cigarettes? Lo-



Discovering America at the San Pablo Spur Steak Ranch north of Johannesburg.

The cowpokes are wearing baseball uniforms, and the 'California breakfast' includes kippers.

cally made Chesterfields, a brand that all but died in the States 20 years ago. Other big brands are Peter Stuyvesants and John Rolfes. South Africans are surprised to learn that Americans not only don't smoke them, but that most can't identify Stuyvesant, the Governor of what was later New York, and Rolfe, America's first tobacco planter.

Older black South Africans seem surprised to learn that black children are no longer called "pickaninies" in America, as they occasionally are here, even by their mothers. At a soccer game, a white American and his Zulu-speaking companion asked a black fan if he knew what his flag stood for: it was the Stars and Bars with a disk in the middle reading "The South Will Rise Again." Explaining slavery and even the Ku Klux Klan made no impression. Finally, the Zulu speaker shouted: "It's an A.W.B. flag, man!" using the initials for the pseudo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging. The astonished fan thanked them and rolled it up.

How does this happen? Most South Africans know little American history, and don't associate some things Southern — Aunt Jemima, Br'er Rabbit, Simon Legree — with slavery. The Confederate flag is just a second American flag.

### Who's a Colonialist?

Will American and South African minds ever truly meet?

Robert Grieg, a culture writer who has lived in New England and Seattle, says he's noticed the beginnings of a black backlash among a few officials of the African National Congress who fear that the pervasiveness of American culture will pollute the "African Renaissance" much spoken about here these days.

"In post-colonial societies," he cautioned, "you get both an admiration for the colonial power — and a resentment."

But an American protests, the United States never colonized South Africa. "Oh, yes you did," he answers. "Culturally, you did."

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# The Nation

## Looking for a Needle, Can't Find the Haystack

By DAVID JOHNSTON

**A**NOTHER serious political scandal seems to be puttering sloppily to a close without anyone being held accountable, without anyone being exonerated and without any real prospect that anything will be done at all. Last week Attorney General Janet Reno rejected the appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore for their White House fund-raising calls. Last month a Senate committee dropped its own campaign finance inquiry after weeks of inconclusive hearings. And outside the capital, many people tuned out and pined on.

A few investigative avenues remain open, at least theoretically. Ms. Reno said her decision did not end her inquiry. She promised to reconsider an independent counsel, but only if fresh evidence materializes. Her campaign finance team at the Justice Department remains on the job; although it has produced nothing after more than a year of probing, and in particular no evidence yet that any of the higher-ups actually committed a crime, law enforcement officials predict indictments of lesser figures soon. Then there is a House committee that plans to keep digging, although the panel is wracked by partisan divisions and its agenda seems at best hazily defined.

### A Fairly Clear Picture

Still, most of what happened in the campaign finance scandal of 1997 is by now authoritatively documented and reasonably clear: A frenzy of political fund-raising, spurred on by the President, swept the Clinton White House in 1995 and 1996. The fund-raising operation evolved into the worst campaign finance scandal since the days of Richard M. Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President. But neither the legal nor the political system has managed to do anything meaningful about it. And so another scandal peters out to an unsatisfying, inconclusive and uninformative finish.

The only casualties so far are the loose web of laws

and regulatory controls supposed to hold back the overwhelming influence of money in politics and the weak enforcement structure erected to make candidates play by the rules. That system lies in a ruined heap of ineffectiveness. Earlier this fall, a few Republicans and Democrats tried to tinker with the rules, but the effort was effortlessly squelched in Congress.

### Ineffective Tools

Even post-Watergate anticorruption measures like the independent counsel statute — intended to keep executive branch officials from being investigated by their political allies — proved to be useless tools for shedding light on what was more a political scandal than a clear-cut criminal conspiracy (although some law enforcement officials suggest that such a plot might yet be found).

Nor has the independent counsel law proved useful of late in holding anyone accountable: Ms. Reno's interpretation of the statute and the history of recent prosecutors appointed under it suggest that this reform, like the campaign finance laws, is woefully inadequate.

Ms. Reno's decision to reject an independent prosecutor seemed inevitable because she narrowed the issue to the legality of phone calls made by Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore, a footnote-sized allegation far removed from the root of what happened. Ms. Reno has defended her decision by saying the law requires her to examine the campaign finance allegations piecemeal, not as a whole.

The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Louis J. Freeh, broke with Ms. Reno on this point. He advised her in a memo that she should examine the allegations more broadly, saying the conflicts of interest were so great and the charges so numerous that only an independent prosecutor could credibly carry out the inquiry. But Ms. Reno dismissed his view.

Furious that Ms. Reno had rejected Mr. Freeh's advice, Republicans want the F.B.I. Director and the Attorney General to appear this week before a House committee. But the panel seems as eager to put a harsh partisan spotlight on the disagreement between the country's two top law enforcement officials as it is to root out campaign finance abuses.



Phone calls were small potatoes in the campaign-finance scandal, and they were what got investigated.

For her part, Ms. Reno took an issue-by-issue approach to the law from the start. By the time she excused the fund-raising phone calls, she had already found insufficient evidence to support such an appointment on a host of other campaign finance abuses. She found nothing in the grainy White House video tapes of the President buttering up big donors over Danish and coffee in the White House. Nor did she find anything worth an independent prosecutor in the awarding of overnight stays at the executive mansion to big donors, as if the Lincoln bedroom was a promotional premium like a coffee mug, tote bag or free junket to Las Vegas.

Of course, history shows that even if Ms. Reno had bent to Republican demands to seek an independent prosecutor, there would be no guarantee that the issues would be fully explored to the public's complete satisfaction. The experience of recent independent counsels suggests that they start aggressively in pursuit of high-level officials but wind up years later, after spending millions of dollars, prosecuting peripheral figures for trivial crimes — often for refusing to cooperate with the prosecutor's investigation of their political superiors. One constant: whichever party controls the executive branch complains that the inquiry is politically motivated.

Not one of the five independent prosecutors appointed since Ms. Reno has been Attorney General has convicted the main subjects of their inquiries, although Donald C. Smaltz, the independent prosecutor appointed

to investigate former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy, has charged Mr. Espy with receiving gifts from companies regulated by the Agriculture Department. Mr. Espy has said he did not break the law and a trial is pending.

Then there is the six-year-long inquiry into the Iran-contra affair, the longest and costliest of them all. Frustrated by the resistance of principal witnesses and wearied by battles over classified documents, the independent counsel, Lawrence E. Walsh, slogged onward until being spun down in 1992 by President Bush's Christmas Eve pardon, which excused a half dozen officials in the case.

Mr. Walsh was forced to end his long and tangled inquiry without proving his central thesis: that President Reagan and his top advisers had plotted to cover up illegal arms shipments to Iran.

The Iran-contra affair was serious, but the charges that Mr. Walsh was ultimately able to bring raised the question of whether the legal process could unravel a complex political scandal. The prosecutions were at best only symbolic and seemed so peripheral that the serious issues were hopelessly obscured.

For example, trying Oliver L. North for accepting the gift of a \$13,800 home alarm system persuaded a jury that he had committed a crime (later overturned on appeal). But the case was so remote from central issues that the affair itself seemed almost to disappear — like the campaign finance case seems to be doing now.

### Health-Care Reform Redux

## A Tax Overhaul Looks Good, From Afar

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

**T**AX reform may prove to be for Republicans what health care reform was for Democrats — a seemingly popular idea that turned into a political disaster.

In the case of health care, a 1991 Gallup Poll showed that 83 percent of Americans believed that the system needed reforming. Bill Clinton seized on this mood and made health care reform a centerpiece of his 1992 election campaign. Good medical insurance, he declared, was a right, not a privilege. He promised to make it affordable to everyone.

But the monumental plan President Clinton offered after he was elected was carefully picked apart by interest groups like insurance companies, doctors and small businesses. The Republican minority in Congress opposed the President at every turn. Many people became scared that they might lose the ability to choose their own doctors or get treatment when they need it.

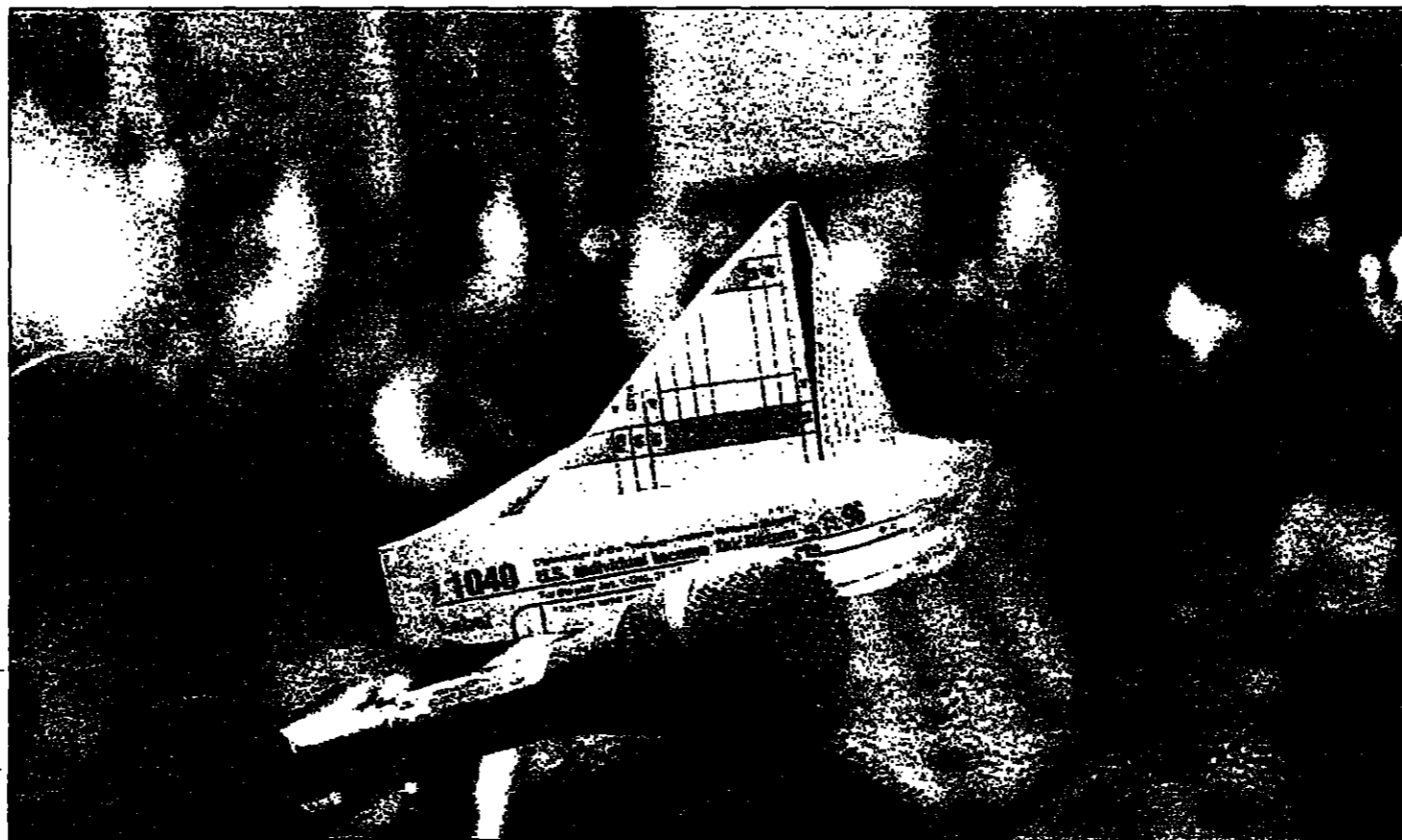
Ultimately, most voters and politicians decided that changes would be worse than sticking with the old health care system, flaws and all. Mr. Clinton's plan died in 1994. It was the most serious political defeat of his Presidency, and contributed no doubt to the Republicans' victory in the Congressional elections that year.

### Déjà Vu

The Republican drive for replacing the Federal income tax is taking shape in a similar fashion.

The latest Gallup Poll found that 73 percent of Americans believe that the tax system needs major changes or a complete overhaul. Republican lawmakers are stumping the country under the banner of "scrap the code." Party leaders believe they can make hay over Democratic opposition to tax reform and ride the issue to victory in the Congressional elections next year and the Presidential election in 2000.

But here's the rub: When they scrutinize the details of what the Republicans are proposing, people may find, as they did with the Democrats' health care plan, that they would



What's under that hat? Representative Dick Armev folded up a 1040 form when he kicked off his tax reform drive this fall.

be worse off than they are now.

President Clinton said in an interview last week that he might suggest some tax measures himself next year. But he is not likely to side with Republicans and favor completely revamping the system. Two main Republican plans are being discussed.

One, drafted by Representative Dick Armev of Texas, the majority leader, would impose a single flat tax of 20 percent for two years and 17 percent thereafter on both individual and business income and abolish almost all deductions and exemptions. The other, promoted by Representative W. J. (Billy) Tauzin of Louisiana, would replace

the income tax with a national sales tax of 15 percent on almost all goods and services.

Both plans have provisions meant to insulate the poor. Mr. Armev would increase the personal exemption so that a family of four with annual income below \$33,800 would owe no taxes. Mr. Tauzin would give periodic tax rebates to the poor. But both would repeal the earned-income tax credit, which provides cash to low-income workers.

Republicans say they hope to avoid the pitfalls of the health care experience by proceeding more cautiously than President Clinton did. Representative Bill Archer of Texas, the chairman of the Ways and Means

Committee, met last week with Mr. Clinton about taxes. The upshot seemed to be that nothing more than tinkering with the tax law is likely next year.

Certainly no one expects votes next year on rewriting the tax code. Mr. Archer says that without a bipartisan approach, full-scale tax reform is out of the question until a Republican is elected President. But that will not stop the Republicans from talking about tax reform next year.

Many powerful interest groups are gearing up to fight the Republican plans with the money and fervor that was used in the health care battle.

The Health Insurance Institute of America — the organization that sponsored the Harry-and-Louise television commercials that worked so effectively against the Clinton health plan — is already maintaining that because neither Republican tax plan would allow businesses to deduct the cost of insurance premiums for their employees, the number of people without medical insurance would explode.

The real estate industry holds that the price of houses would rise enormously without the mortgage interest deduction. Many companies say they would go out of business if they could not write off the depreciation cost of expensive machinery and equipment already in their factories.

### Math Problems

As if that were not enough, simple arithmetic shows that middle-class families would almost certainly pay higher taxes under the Republican plans than they do now. If the rich pay less in taxes, as they certainly would with a sales tax or an income tax rate cut, someone has to make up the difference if total Government revenues remain approximately the same. The Treasury has calculated, for instance, that a flat tax raising as much money as the existing tax system would require a 20.8 percent rate and that essentially all families with annual incomes below \$200,000 would face more taxes.

Mr. Armev and Mr. Tauzin dispute such calculations. The skeptics, they say, do not take account of the lower interest rates and economic expansion that would result from their plans.

But that is theory, not fact. The Republicans might have trouble selling their ideas to voters just as Mr. Clinton could never convince people that they would be better off with his health program.

Here's why. In Mr. Clinton's case, while millions of Americans lack adequate health insurance, the vast majority of people are in fact covered. The comparable problem for Republicans on taxes is that while millions of taxpayers are frustrated by high rates and complicated rules on deductions, about two-thirds of Americans either owe no taxes or take the standard deduction and are taxed at a 15 percent rate.

## In Medicine, the Government Will Rise Again

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didn't win the H.M.O.'s many friends.

But more fundamental economic forces have also been at work. When employees worried they would lose health insurance of any sort, it was relatively easy to channel them into restrictive H.M.O.'s. But "now that they no longer fear for their jobs," Mr. Pauly said, they balk at running bureaucratic gauntlets to see specialists and "employers are again using generous benefits to attract and keep employees."

Insurers are responding to the backlash by offering less restrictive coverage. Employers are trying to pass on costs by requiring hefty co-payments — typically 30 percent — for the unquestioned right to see physicians outside designated provider panels. And in response to a combination of public pressure and intense lobbying by providers, government is making its weight felt.

Many states are regulating everything from the length of a hospital stay for a mastectomy to the financial incentives that H.M.O.'s give to physicians for denying treatment. And Congress is flooded with similar ad hoc proposals from both sides of the aisle — including one from that stalwart of Republicanism, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato of New York.

Ironically, the regulatory initiative least likely to offend the sensibilities of free marketers is coming from the folks who brought you the Clinton plan. While the "consumer bill of rights" for health care just proposed by the Administration has a little something for everyone, its focus is on insuring adequate information for consumers, along with effective competition among insurers and providers. "Anyone should be able to compare plan benefits or physicians' credentials by logging on to the Internet," Mr. Reinhardt said.

This "make the market work" approach to reform

— which, parenthetically, has its origins in the trust-busting crusade of the very Republican President Teddy Roosevelt — is not likely to please private insurers. But Mr. Reischauer predicts their opposition will soften since "they don't want to deal with regulators in 50 different states."

It's too early to say how the politics and economics of health care regulation will play out in detail. But a few things are clear.

### Progress Costs

Explaining the lion's share of growth in health care outlays per person, Joseph Newhouse, an economist at Harvard, notes that "medical technology has traditionally advanced in costly ways." Hence any regulation that trimmed a percentage point or two off the annual growth of medical bills would have to slow innovation — or

channel it in cost-saving directions like outpatient care. By the same token, the idea that for-profit care is at least as good as nonprofit, and that insured patients have no obligation to subsidize the uninsured poor are likely to come under intense scrutiny. "Are we really prepared to cede authority over who gets what treatment to private agents?" said Henry Aaron, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Change, Mr. Reischauer predicts, will come as "three steps forward and two steps back." But he suggests that we may be overestimating the difficulty of coming to terms with systems that ration medical services through a combination of cold cost-benefit calculations and consumers' willingness to pay.

"The real challenge is coming from people who grew up with unlimited fee-for-service insurance," he contends. "Younger Americans are ready to accept managed care."

صكنا من الاصل

# Ideas & Trends

## Ethical Fears Aside, Science Plunges On

By GEORGE JOHNSON

**W**ITH the prospect of human cloning becoming less unthinkable by the day, it seems almost quaint that a mere decade ago people were up in arms over the perils of spraying strawberries with bacteria genetically altered to prevent frost.

At about the same time, a Montana scientist, hounded by cries that he was tampering with nature, tearfully chopped down a grove of trees he had carefully injected with bacteria whose genes had been rejiggered to fight Dutch elm disease. For all the outrage and apprehensions, one would have thought he was playing with something as dangerous as the Andromeda Strain.

Gene-splicing, artificial insemination, in

tions, scientists had shown that it was possible to take a cell from an adult mammal and use it as the seed for a new creature. But one scientist after another vowed that cloning would never be done with people. Finally, it seemed, science would not try to do something just because it could.

In the midst of the panic, President Clinton called an obscure group known as the National Bioethics Advisory Commission into action. Moralizing under the pressure of a Presidentially imposed 90-day deadline, the panel gravely concluded that human cloning was wrong and called for a moratorium. Mr. Clinton, armed with the latest in family-value issues, declared that the practice would violate "the sacred family bonds at the very core of our ideals and our society" and "make our children objects rather than cherished individuals."

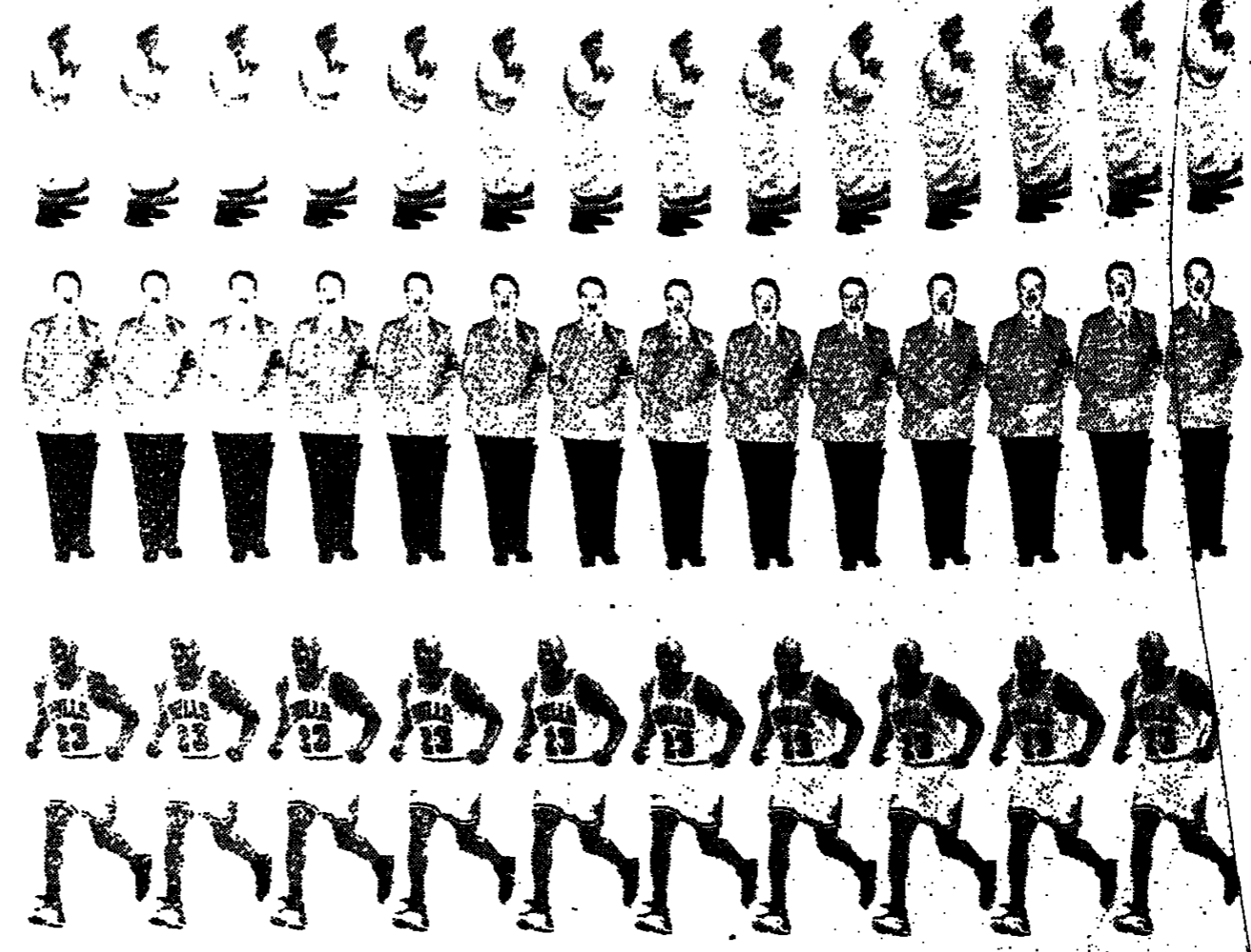
### Monkey See, Human Do

Bills were debated in Congress, professional ethicists convened conferences and wrote books and articles. California banned human cloning. Meanwhile, the real action was quietly going on in the laboratories, outside the periphery of the public eye. Federally supported experiments in cloning monkeys for use in AIDS vaccine and other research was continuing outside the limelight. What can be done with monkeys can probably be done with people. "We are laying the groundwork," one of the scientists said.

Dr. Steen Willadsen, who developed techniques used to make Dolly, said it was "just a matter of time" before the first human is cloned. Anticipating that cloning will inevitably become an accepted medical procedure, he is now working in a fertility clinic, perfecting techniques that could eventually be used for the ultimate in reproductive freedom — making a younger copy of yourself.

It's the same old story. The terror of Jurassic Park dinosaurs on the loose in San Diego or the eerie absurdity of cloning multiple Hitlers in "The Boys From Brazil" gives way to practical questions. Infertile couples wonder whether cloning one of their cells to make a baby is really any more unnatural than taking fertility drugs and ending up with septuplets.

Could it be that cloning a cancer victim to



harvest a bone marrow donor is less an abomination than an act of human charity? If the evolutionary psychologists can be believed, such a clone, sharing an identical set of genes, would feel closer to brother to sister or parent to child. One might very well want to help the other with an organ donation. The notion of genetically engineered slaves kept in a closet for spare parts starts to seem like bad science fiction.

### Ethical Concerns

No one should be Pollyannish about this. Before human cloning becomes as acceptable as implanting frozen embryos, all kinds of moral and legal dilemmas would have to be dealt with. Should we worry about the undue pressures a clone might feel to give up a body part? Would knowing that you were conceived for utilitarian purposes be psychologically upsetting? Or would it be no worse than learning you were an accident, or adopted, or conceived in a petri dish? If history is a guide, the answers to these questions will

come only after cloning is a fait accompli.

Over time, all the dire warnings and predictions seem to have the opposite of the intended effect. People become inured to the predictable hand-wringing and begin to feel that every new development is accompanied by an obligatory round of chilling scenarios, which often turn out to be wrong. Each new pill, for better or worse, is just a little bit easier to swallow. One wonders whether in 10 years, or in 5 or 3, the outrage over cloning will seem as misguided as medieval bans on dissecting cadavers in medical schools. What was the big deal, anyway?

With each new development the labyrinth of possibilities expands. New channels of thought open up. Trying to recreate an old moral mindset becomes as difficult as imagining why Beethoven at first sounded shocking, or remembering why mood rings and pet rocks once seemed cool.

It's almost as though society wants its scientists to spring these surprises on them. And people know deep down that, like it or not, what can be done probably will. From

the time the first caveman, obsessed with the image of a circle, picked up a chisel and turned a block of stone into a wheel, ideas — good ones and bad — have had a way of breaking loose from the mind. Thought inevitably crystallizes into action, ideas into things, and even notions that seem frighteningly dangerous have to be tried at least once before they are accepted, regulated or, occasionally, banned.

Some of the scientists of the Manhattan Project, working on the first hydrogen bomb, worried that it might set off a global chain reaction and turn the earth into a burning star. After a round of marathon calculations convinced them that this probably wouldn't happen, they crossed their fingers and exploded the bomb anyway. Then the world was left to deal with the mess.

"When you see something that is technically sweet you go ahead and do it," the physicist Robert Oppenheimer said later, "and you argue about what to do about it only after you have had your technical success."

vitro fertilization, bovine growth hormone, genetically engineered tomatoes — all jolted people to dig out their yellowed copies of Aldous Huxley and Michael Crichton and tremble before the certainty that the worst was yet to come. Genies were being let out of bottles. Brave new worlds were approaching.

And in the end, all the bioethical agonizing was largely beside the point. The scientists kept quietly, deliberately working away, incrementally improving the technology. What seemed scary to people slowly started to seem interesting, and maybe useful. Looking back over the years, it's hard to find a case in which the unthinkable remained unthinkable for very long.

Earlier this year, with the sudden appearance of Dolly, the genetically duplicated lamb, it seemed that science had finally come up against an unbreachable moral barrier. Against many of their own expecta-

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## Cyberspace's Private Cops

Continued from Page 9

specific search. But the user sees only the matches. Companies like CyberPatrol and NetNanny develop lists of what is acceptable for children to see using a combination of automated searches for keywords and human value judgment. Some parents might disagree with those choices, if they knew what was excluded.

Since the Web is so big, with hundreds of sites added daily, much of the material is blocked simply because software monitors have not had time to review it. And since small, non-commercial sites are likely to be rated last, filter tools dramatically undercut the Internet's much-touted freedom, critics say.

The same problem affects self-rating. Under a plan promoted by the Recreational Software Advisory Council, sites rate themselves on a scale of 0 to 4 based on violence, language, sex and nudity. But only 50,000 sites have rated themselves so far; the vast majority of the Web could be screened out.

The A.C.L.U. is loath to oppose parents from choosing their own filtering software at home. But battles are emerging at libraries and schools. Many employers have also adopted filters for screening explicit material as well as categories like "life style."

And there is also a fear that the Internet's main gatekeepers — including America Online, Netscape and Microsoft — will offer only a few filters, which many parents will automatically use.

### A Blander Web

That could make for a much blander Web. James Boyle, a professor at American University's Washington College of Law, conjures the notion of a Disneyesque rating system that screens children from anything controversial. "No content provider will want to lose the portion of the population that always runs the Disney filter, even if they suspect that some of its users don't know the filter was ever turned on, and might not know how to turn it off if they did," Mr. Boyle told the Internet Legal Practice Newsletter, an on-line publication.

Theoretically, PICS allows users to construct their own rating system. But the time and expense it takes makes that unlikely. And even if surfers came up with ratings plans, some civil libertarians worry that the technology's unprecedented ability to screen for narrow stripes of unwelcome speech has troubling implications for a democracy based on the free exchange of ideas.

In real space, skinheads demonstrate in public; gay pride groups march on city streets and The National Review sits next to The Nation on the newsstand. In virtual space, the freedom to speak may not imply the same ability to be heard. And while true freedom of the press may always have belonged to those who owned one, the widespread adoption of high-tech blinders seems a particularly ironic outcome in a medium that for the first time gave that freedom to average citizens.

But Jerry Berman, executive director of the Center for Democracy and Technology, argues that such devices are simply a natural translation of real-world filters into cyberspace and serve the added purpose of deflecting more onerous government regulation.

Such filters may well flourish — with or without legislation — leaving Americans to decide for themselves how and whether the principles of free speech as guaranteed by the Constitution ought to apply in the free electronic market.

"The question we're asking now is not, 'Is this Constitutional?'" said David Sobel, an attorney with the Electronic Privacy Information Center, another civil liberties organization. "It's, 'Is this a good idea?'"

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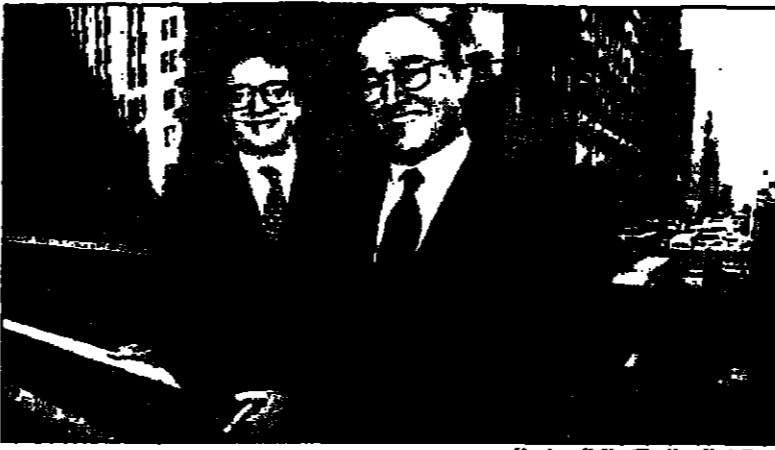
ECONOMY

Will Moscow's Gains Prove a Loss For Shareholders?

By EDWARD WYATT

LENIN must be spinning in his tomb. The city of Moscow, once the capital of global Communism, could soon be the parent of an American mutual fund.

Why should investors care? The city is in the midst of privatizing hundreds of municipally owned enterprises. And while such deals in Russia have been marked by almost unfettered cronyism, the American regulators who oversee Lexington Troika can be expected to take a harsh stance on investments by the fund that are done at anything less than arm's length.



Gavin Rankin, left, does the stock-picking for the Lexington Troika Dialog Russia fund, while Richard Hisey, right, oversees broad strategy.

For investors who bought shares of the Lexington Troika fund early, 1997 has been a vastly successful year. But for the majority of shareholders, the recent upheaval offers a cautionary tale about the hazards of investing in emerging markets.

important to generating business as any link with a foreign partner. One executive, who spoke on condition of anonymity because of his desire to continue to do business with the city, likened Mr. Luzhkov's influence to the power once wielded by Chicago's legendary Mayor Richard J. Daley.

times, high volatility or questions of a political nature that affected the fund — I had the dominant say," he said. "The alliance with the Bank of Moscow, going forward, will change that."

But not entirely. "Of course, I will continue to maintain relationships with the management and individuals at Troika Dialog, and we will continue to work together when it's prudent to do so," Mr. Derby said.

S.E.C. officials look closely at potential conflicts of interest, especially when they occur in foreign markets. In its oversight of funds that invest heavily in developing markets like Russia, "we ask funds to consider and describe any problems that might be material from the perspective of investors," said Barry Barabash, director of the S.E.C.'s mutual fund division.

In Lexington Troika's case, that results in several eye-numbing pages of the fund's prospectus, devoted to warnings about the possible negative effects of adverse political or diplomatic developments, social instability, expropriation or nationalization of assets, armed conflict in Chechnya, tensions between the President and the legislature, unrest caused by military downsizing, inexperience of corporate managers, lack of modern technology, lack of capital, high inflation, high taxes, dependence on foreign economic aid, and stock market speculators — among other conditions.

cent problems: Despite its shining performance in the first half, Lexington Troika this year has lost about \$15 million in investors' money, according to AMG Data's numbers through the end of November — and \$1 out of every \$3 invested since the end of June.

To be sure, some of the fund's sharp gains and subsequent losses were results of frenzied activity in the overall Russian stock market and had little to do with specific stock selections by the fund's managers.

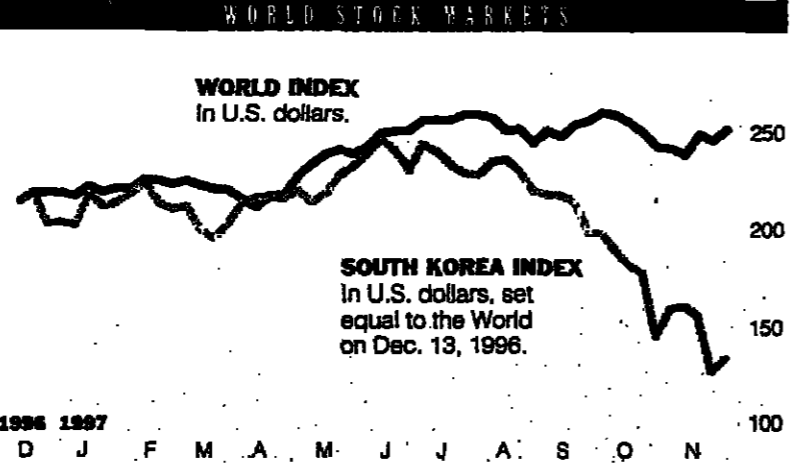
Nevertheless, the fund's portfolio poses substantial risks of its managers' making. At the end of June, the date of the last semiannual disclosure of the fund's entire portfolio, 13 percent of Lexington Troika's assets were in "illiquid securities," defined in the prospectus as those that cannot be sold within seven days "without taking a materially reduced price."

Last week, Mr. Hisey said that the percentage of the fund's assets in illiquid securities was still about the same, adding that those stocks had taken "a haircut along with the other holdings in the fund's portfolio."

"You had what always happens when there's a crash: the focus was on liquid names, and on the illiquid ones there was really very little trading done," he said. "Many investors who spent a considerable amount of time to build up those positions in second- and third-tier stocks were reluctant to fire-sell them."

How does a mutual fund value its holdings of rarely traded Russian stocks that no one wants to buy? That question, too, troubled the S.E.C. when Lexington Troika first asked for permission to sell its shares, said Mr. Bean, the Moscow lawyer.

To gain approval, the fund agreed to keep about 15 percent of its assets in "very liquid assets" like United States Treasury issues, according to the prospectus, so that it could meet redemptions in the event of large shareholder withdrawals. Indeed, Mr. Hisey said that since the October market decline, the fund's cash position had climbed even higher, to about 30 percent of assets.



WORLD INDEX In U.S. dollars. SOUTH KOREA INDEX In U.S. dollars, set equal to the World on Dec. 13, 1996.

Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actives World Indexes, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indexes are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

Table with columns: Country, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg.

Table with columns: Composite Index, Index, Week % Chg., Rank, YTD % Chg., Rank, Dividend Yield, Index, YTD % Chg.

Table with columns: Exchange rate, Friday, Last Friday, Week % Chg., Year Ago.

FEW entrepreneurs, if any, have been more successful in negotiating a path through Russia's fledgling securities business than Mr. Derby, 37, who moved to Moscow in 1990. He has since created a one-man financial conglomerate comprising Dialog Bank, a commercial bank; the Development and Restructuring Bank, a merchant bank; a related insurance company; Troika Dialog, the brokerage and investment banking firm, and its subsidiary that is co-manager of the fund.

And to these rivals, his decision to choose the Bank of Moscow over a foreign partner — even as some of Troika Dialog's competitors were forging links with rich Western investment banks — is the deal's most curious aspect.

Richard Hisey, a managing director at Lexington Management, the Saddle Brook, N.J., firm that markets Lexington Troika to American investors, said that the fund was comfortable that it would remain in compliance with the Investment Company Act of 1940, the governing statute for the mutual fund industry.

But investors cannot count on the fund's stellar performance surviving a management shake-up. As chairman of Troika Dialog, Mr. Derby had substantial input into the firm's management of the Lexington Troika fund. So shareholders are bound to wonder if, after the sale, the fund's manager will lose much of the expertise that helped it to rack up big gains this year.

Glasnost Success

Peter Derby said it was a 1987 trip to Russia in the entourage of Billy Joel, the pop singer, that opened his eyes to the opportunities there. "I saw a lot of young people who looked just like the audiences at Madison Square Garden," said Mr. Derby, who served as a translator during Mr. Joel's historic concert tour.



Peter Derby of Troika Dialog.

"I grew up speaking only Russian at home in Queens until I was 5 years old," Mr. Derby said in an interview last week in New York, where he was attending a conference on Russian markets. "When I went to Russia, I found the people there just like my family. I wanted to help them, but not to take advantage of them."

Dec. 1-5: What Asian Crisis? The S.&P. 500 Hits a New High, and the Dow Is Up 4.2%

Market summary section including PRICES, DOMESTIC EQUITIES, DOMESTIC BONDS, AROUND THE WORLD, YIELDS, and OTHER INVESTMENTS, with corresponding line graphs for 90-day relative trends.

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## Meltdown at Justice

Janet Reno last week blocked appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the campaign finance scandal, but she couldn't stop the cascade of reports about disarray in her department. A law firm so convulsed by conflict would soon be out of business, but for this Justice Department anarchy and mismanagement are a way of life.

The portrait that emerges starkly from a variety of recent accounts — in *The New Yorker*, *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Times*, to mention only a few — is that of a department lacking the leadership and organizational structure to deal with the most important criminal investigation in the capital. Ms. Reno, however flinty she may be, has not staffed key positions nor communicated any sense of urgency about enforcing campaign laws. Instead she has run true to the well-documented pattern she established as a Florida prosecutor, micromanaging minor issues while letting big ones drift, except for the rare times when she has a strong deputy.

The consequences are painfully visible, not least in her revision of the role of the nation's chief law enforcement officer. When Ms. Reno emerges into public view, it is always to say she cannot find evidence that any important Federal law has been broken, never mind all the unchallenged accounts of millions sluicing through the Asian pipeline. Every decision she has made and comment she has offered has minimized the offenses and excused the conduct of the White House and Democratic Party. The person who is supposed to be the nation's chief prosecutor, ever alert for signs of infraction, sounds instead like a technicality-hunting defense lawyer.

Under Ms. Reno, the criminal division, which would in a normal Justice Department be all over this investigation, has been without a leader for two years. This alone would be an inexcusable lapse. But as our colleague William Safire noted, the place is shot through with conflicts of interest. The acting

head, John Keeney, had to recuse himself from the campaign case because his son is a lawyer for John Huang, one of the central figures under investigation. The official responsible for supervising the inquiry, Lee Radek, the head of the public integrity section, is a timid bureaucrat regarded in some quarters, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation, as being more interested in controlling the case than in pushing it.

Little wonder that months were wasted as an inexperienced prosecutor working for Mr. Radek failed to chase the most obvious leads, many of which appeared on newspaper front pages. When Ms. Reno could no longer ignore the breathtaking incompetence of this bunch, she brought in Charles La Bella, a seasoned Federal prosecutor. He quickly clashed with Mr. Radek, who is still fighting to control the inquiry and still has Ms. Reno's ear.

By last week as Ms. Reno pondered whether to seek an outside counsel to investigate fund-raising calls by President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore, she faced open rebellion by Louis Freeh, the F.B.I. Director. He disassociated himself from Ms. Reno's handling of the scandal and made sure his views were known. The White House then all but invited Mr. Freeh to resign with a tepid statement of support — "Louis Freeh is leading that agency as best he can," in the weaselly words of Mike McCurry.

You do not have to believe, as we do, that Federal law requires appointment of an independent counsel to see that this is a department in managerial meltdown. Congress will be pressing Ms. Reno to unchain Mr. La Bella and Mr. Freeh and order Mr. Radek and his bureaucratic associates to stand aside. If Ms. Reno would only allow a vigorous investigation, she would soon find that her narrow reading of the independent counsel law cannot be sustained.

## Learning From 'The Lion King'

One child counted down the seconds until the 2 o'clock matinee began. A little girl stared, as did her mother, at the walls and ceiling of the New Amsterdam Theater, whose ornaments intertwined like a jungle of architectural marzipan. One evil parent turned to her son — or was it to his father? — and said, "I want you to know, a ticket to this costs as much as a ticket to Disney World for the whole day." But then the lights fell, and within moments the aisles and stage had filled with the animals of invention. Adults gasped, and every child in the audience began to reread an old, familiar text — the one inscribed on worn videos of Disney's animated "Lion King" — now brought to life by Julie Taymor on Broadway.

The special genius of Ms. Taymor's version of "The Lion King" is the way it unmasks — and de-cloys — the anthropomorphism of Disney's animated animal films. Ms. Taymor's production reveals the humans who animate the animals on stage. No actor is fully hidden by his mask or costume, and yet every actor is completely transformed by the character of animal movement. Life-size giraffes move stiffly across a symbolic savannah, but the audience is encouraged to see the human head from which the giraffe's neck rises and to admire the human frame that is poised so perfectly — so giraffely — on stilts. This is a way of articulating and closing the gap between the human and animal worlds, a gap that Disney's animation, and the often insipid philosophizing it accompanies, pretends is nonexistent.

Instead, Ms. Taymor's re-conception of the meaning of anthropomorphism reconnects the audience to the meaning of one of the signature songs in

"The Lion King" — "Circle of Life." That song now not only links lions and antelopes, flesh and grass. It reminds the listener that what is human is also partly animal and what is animal is also partly human.

Ms. Taymor uses what she calls "ideograms" to represent emotion and elements of the natural world. She and her collaborators have Africanized "The Lion King" visually and musically, turning what was a piece of largely unlocalized fluff into a striking evocation of place. She has made Rafiki, the male baboon-shaman in the film, into a half-cracked, all-wise woman who wears the totemic markings of a baboon. These choices demonstrate the agility and imagination of Ms. Taymor and her colleagues. But they also demonstrate something even more striking — the Walt Disney Company's willingness, in this case, to reinvent a known, and fabulously profitable, product, not by dumbing it down to live action, as in the stage production of "Beauty and the Beast," but by allowing Ms. Taymor to test the limits of representation and theatricality.

There is no formula to be found in the way Ms. Taymor has adapted "The Lion King." But perhaps there is a useful formula in Disney's decision to use its profits to restore the New Amsterdam Theater and to unleash Ms. Taymor. There are days when the new Times Square looks like nothing so much as a grand canyon of international icons staring at one another across a river of humans far below. What a miracle it would be if the corporations those icons represent were to conclude, as Disney in this one case has, that commercial prosperity licenses — even obliges — cultural risk.

Editorial Observer/BRENT STAPLES

## Waking Up — Too Late — in the Token Role

The conservative revolution started with the premise that a liberal orthodoxy had hijacked the culture and muzzled public debate. In truth, the architects of the right — Irving Kristol, Paul Weyrich, Pat Robertson, William Buckley — were advancing an orthodoxy of their own, one that cast liberalism as an evil to be wiped out at any cost. With conservatives controlling the national agenda — and the word liberal reduced to a slur — the goal is clearly within reach.

The movement succeeded largely because it was focused — and very well financed. Over the last 15 years, foundations and think tanks like Olin, Heritage, Hoover and Scaife have spent tens of millions of dollars boosting their positions through books, papers and intellectuals-for-hire. The rush of new money created a class of professionals who live very well cranking out ideology masked as disinterested scholarship.

Recruits were offered money, power and celebrity in exchange for ideological allegiance. But defectors who want out of the far right and into the respectable middle are peddling a more sentimental story. One after another, they have portrayed them-

### Why Glenn Loury broke with the right.

selves as principled dupes who found out only too late that they had fallen in with zealots. The political writer Michael Lind said this in last year's manifesto, "Up From Conservatism." David Brock, the former hit man for *The American Spectator*, said it again at his departure from the right last summer. But no one has gotten quite the mileage of the economist Glenn Loury, whose black skin and formidable intellect were weapons for the Reagan White House and the 80's think-tank set.

Mr. Loury broke with his colleagues at the American Enterprise Institute — ostensibly for the racially "derogatory" tone of a book by Dinesh D'Souza — two years ago. He disappeared but came blazing back last month with essays in three publications, explaining his conversion. He turned right, he claims, after being excluded by black liberals for writing that the underclass was less

a product of racism than of moral decay. After a decade on the right, he fled left again when he suddenly discovered that his chums had a dictatorial "party line" on race and would brook no dissent.

This is too pat to be true, especially for a man of Mr. Loury's considerable intelligence. Race-baiting, Willie Hortonizing and homophobia were part of the package from the start and actually in fuller use in the 80's than now. That Mr. Loury failed to detect a "conservative party line" on race while cozying up to the Reagan Administration — and as a star on the conservative lecture circuit — is simply implausible. It seems likely that he ignored the evidence of his senses to embrace the celebrity he considered his due as one of the first black stars on the right.

Along with Clarence Thomas and the economist Thomas Sowell, Mr. Loury had both the good and bad fortune to be in the first wave. Desperate to immunize itself against the charge of racism, the conservative establishment provided enormous professional rewards to these three. These men suffered grueling and unfair abuse from black liberals who cast them as "race traitors." But

judging from Mr. Loury's experience, the most tortuous part of all was playing the role of the token — the lone black person in the room who is scripted to smile and nod his assent at the appropriate moment.

Even among liberals, African-Americans risk being patronized, pigeonholed and reduced to a kind of lawn ornament. Mr. Loury suffered this, but seems to have taken several years to realize it. The insight seemed to leap out in a 1990 speech, later reported in *The New Yorker*, during which he berated the audience for seeing only his black skin and taking his presence as proof that conservative policy was "nonracist." "If by some magic I were suddenly to become white," he railed, "my brilliant, perceptive, and courageous insights would... be reduced to pedestrian, commonplace complaints, of little personal comfort to you."

The realization that he had been used in this classically repugnant manner was clearly painful. It cost him friends, peace of mind and shaded everything that followed. For Mr. Loury to now cast his "conversion" in sterile policy terms is to tell less than the full truth.

## Americans Can Use the Law to Control Cloning

To the Editor:

In "On Cloning Humans, 'Never' Turns Swiftly Into 'Why Not'?" (front page, Dec. 2), you quote Dr. Steen Willadsen as saying that "in America, cloning may be bad but telling people how they should reproduce is worse." But the defining characteristic of American life is not total personal freedom. It is self-rule by consensus. Americans have the power to forbid, through the passage of laws, any practice deemed destructive to our quality of life.

Two things are needed to navigate rapidly evolving reproductive technology: the wisdom to ascertain what should and should not be allowed and the conviction to shape our reasoning into law. If these qualities are not brought to bear, we deserve whatever world that cloning brings us.

In the meantime, anything that is not forbidden will be done. That we can count on.

SHEBA DELANEY  
New York, Dec. 2, 1997

Why Cells Share

To the Editor:

Absent in the comments of ethicists and scientists in your Dec. 2 front-page article on cloning was the distinction between this technique and other "new reproductive arrangements," like in vitro fertilization and surrogate mothers.

To reproduce sexually, plants and animals take a cell, throw away half its genes (to form an egg or sperm cell) and then search for someone else to provide the missing half. If adaptations exist to get genes into the next generation, then asexual reproduction — cloning — should be more efficient. But among plants and animals it is almost nonexistent.

A body of literature over the last two decades suggests that the reason lies in the genetic variance of a sexually produced offspring. The benefits of its unique mix of genes when it confronts pathogens and parasites offsets

the loss of getting only half one's genes into the next generation. Sexual reproduction in plants and animals represents a fundamental form of sharing. Most "new reproductive arrangements" retain this sharing of genes. Cloning does not, and presents vastly different biological and ethical questions.

STEVE RISSING  
Tempe, Ariz., Dec. 2, 1997  
The writer is a professor of biology at Arizona State University.

Treating Infertility

To the Editor:

The New York University Medical Center's division of reproductive endocrinology, which was mentioned in your Dec. 2 front-page article on cloning, is not involved with research in cloning humans, though we may use techniques similar to those in cloning experiments. Our research is aimed at making the treatment of infertility easier. Infertility is a disease, one that wrecks havoc on many people's lives.

JAMIE A. GRIFO, M.D.  
New York, Dec. 2, 1997  
The writer is director of the division of reproductive endocrinology at N.Y.U. Medical Center.

Second-Class Citizens

To the Editor:

In your article on cloning (front page, Dec. 2), an unnamed doctor presents a hypothetical case: If a relative were to get cancer, the doctor would clone that relative and "use" the clone as a bone-marrow donor to save the patient's life.

But how, exactly, would the doctor "use" the clone? If humans are to be cloned, it is essential that clones are considered autonomous entities and accorded the same dignity and basic rights of others. The clone should not be "used" as a donor until he or she is capable of reasoned consent.

In another scenario, you say that "grieving parents may want to reproduce a terminally ill child." Easing grief is a worthy motive, but is it so simple? Little Jennifer is dying, alas, but Jennifer II will soon replace her! Again, the clone is somehow less than human, taking on characteristics of a fungible commodity.

But a person must never be treated merely as a means to another's end, no matter how valid. This is a truth that those bedazzled by promising, and lucrative, applications have so far scandalously managed to finessse.

NONTAS KONSTANTAKIS  
Princeton, N.J., Dec. 4, 1997

Romance of Childbirth

To the Editor:

Laurence Sanders' "Second Thoughts on Cloning" (Op-Ed, Dec. 5) was masterfully written, and sneaky. The emotional whammy was tucked in at the end, where he said, "A society that bans acts of human creation... is a society that risks cutting itself off from vital experimentation, thus losing a significant part of its capacity to grow." What a taunt. All good Americans want to grow, after all.

Mr. Tribe asks for better reasons to oppose human cloning. How about this? I have not yet had children, but I hope to have many. I don't want just to replicate mine and another's genes (that seems a bit perfunctory); I want to feel as my mother did after giving birth: "very clever," she says. There's romance, delight and mystery in that. Call me a Luddite, but I believe in the ancient means of production.

HOLLY FINN  
New York, Dec. 5, 1997

A Scientist's Duty

To the Editor:

Your Dec. 2 front-page article on cloning humans quotes Dr. Steen Willadsen, a cloning pioneer, as saying, "It is not for me, as a person who invents techniques, to say how we should use them." I challenge Dr. Willadsen and other scientists who agree with his statement to show responsibility and broader foresight.

It is easy to work for the sake of the task at hand, but in certain fields (genetics included), the consequences can extend beyond it. Failure to consider the consequences — even if beneficial — is irresponsible. Just ask the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

TONATIU RODRIGUEZ-NIXL  
Berkeley, Calif., Dec. 4, 1997

Digital Classrooms

To the Editor:

"High-Tech Teaching Is Losing Its Gloss" (Week in Review, Nov. 30) does not describe the way we see teachers using technology in classrooms. It did not mention how students nationwide are researching and organizing interdisciplinary projects as multimedia presentations and disseminating their results on the Internet. Nor did it mention how foreign language teachers can use computers to give students examples and corrective feedback in speaking and writing a new language.

Teachers also use computers for creating molecular models, maps and proofs. They can also develop simulations of microeconomic activity with spreadsheets. Networks allow teachers to drive up the level of interaction in a class by communicating with students from home or using a school's World Wide Web site to make course links to supporting materials in museums, universities and libraries.

WILLIAM G. W. BARNES  
RODNEY J. LABRECQUE  
Wallingford, Conn., Dec. 5, 1997

Race and the Founders

To the Editor:

Re "Clinton, at Meeting on Race, Struggles to Sharpen Debate" (front page, Dec. 4): President Clinton, at the "town hall" meeting in Akron, Ohio, said: "We live in a country that is the longest-lasting democracy in human history, founded on the elementary proposition that we are created equal by God. That's what the Constitution says. And we have never lived that way perfectly, but the whole history of America is in large measure the story of our attempt to give a more perfect meaning to the thing we started with — the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

The problem is, of course, that the "elementary proposition that we are created equal by God" is in the Declaration of Independence.

And "the thing we started with," and keep trying to "give a more perfect meaning to," is not the Constitution and the Bill of Rights but the assertion of human equality in the Declaration of Independence. To be fair, Bill Clinton is not the only American who gets our basic documents all mixed up. Still, a man sworn to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution" should have a better idea of what that document does and does not say.

A champion of affirmative action should also have a better grasp on the connection between that effort to achieve racial equality and "the thing we started with." PAULINE MAJER  
Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 5, 1997  
The writer is a professor of American history at M.I.T.

New Nuclear Policy

To the Editor:

"The Price of Nuclear Preparedness" (editorial, Nov. 30) questioned the recent 10 percent increase in the cost of insuring the reliability of nuclear weapons. The United States has decided to forgo nuclear testing, and that's a gigantic change from the way we previously maintained our stockpile. It costs more without testing. We now better understand this job and anticipate a cost increase to \$45 billion from our earlier estimate of \$40 billion — still a small price to insure our nation's security.

We need other critical policy decisions about our uses of nuclear technologies. Senate debate on the comprehensive test ban treaty is likely next year. We must explore the revitalizing role of nuclear energy to insure future energy sources and to help address global competition for fossil fuels. Concerns about greenhouse gases further argue for re-examining nuclear energy. We must address waste disposal and proliferation.

Better new options exist for energy, proliferation and waste; we should explore them. Furthermore, we should rezone our stockpile based on threats. These and similar initiatives may increase costs; they also may pay immense dividends.

We aren't wisely using nuclear technologies. The current anxiety-laden, fragmented state of nuclear policy debate in the country has created this situation. Irrational fears of perceived risks of nuclear technologies prevent us from actions to address real risks and optimize their use. As I've said in recent speeches at Harvard and elsewhere, it's time for a mature, scientifically based re-examination of nuclear technologies.

U.S. Senator from New Mexico  
Washington, Dec. 5, 1997

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# Reforming the Reformers

By Sean Wilentz

**W**HEN Ron Carey resigned as general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, many believed that, at least for the short term, the cause of union democracy had died.

been investigating whether an aide to Mr. Carey conspired with Democratic Party fund-raisers to violate Federal election laws.

It is all terribly confusing, especially to the hard-working teamster rank-and-file members who ask only that their leaders represent them well and honorably. As reformers scramble for a new candidate to replace Mr. Carey, some have wondered whether democracy might be a luxury that unions, locked in battle with powerful forces and organizations, ranging from multinational corporations to the mob, simply can't afford. Questions like these have long bedeviled the American labor movement and will continue to bedevil it (and those who care about it) for a long time to come. Still, some clear lessons can be drawn from the depressing teamster saga.

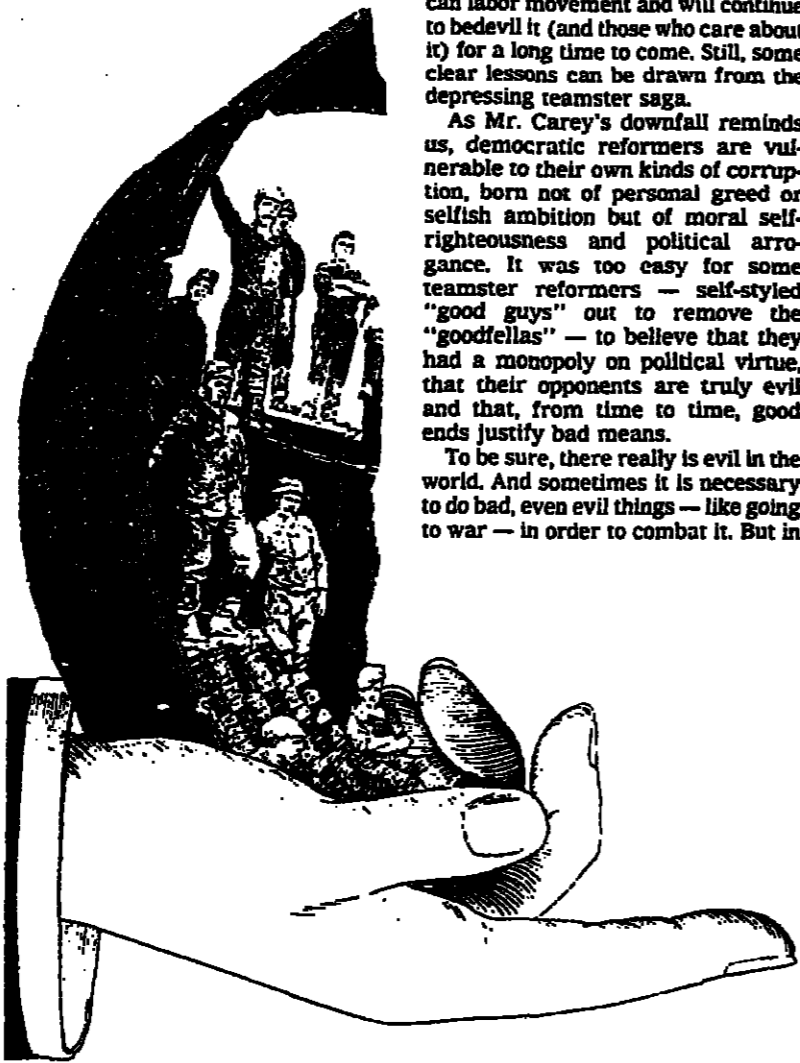
As Mr. Carey's downfall reminds us, democratic reformers are vulnerable to their own kinds of corruption, born not of personal greed or selfish ambition but of moral self-righteousness and political arrogance. It was too easy for some teamster reformers — self-styled "good guys" — to believe that they had a monopoly on political virtue, that their opponents are truly evil and that, from time to time, good ends justify bad means.

To be sure, there really is evil in the world. And sometimes it is necessary to do bad, even evil things — like going to war — in order to combat it. But in

more a creature of these insurgencies than they were of him. And it is the continued presence of these reformist currents within the union that is democracy's best guarantor.

Mr. Carey's disqualification has set the movement back, but it was not nearly so damaging a blow as the one inflicted by those presumptuous reformers who betrayed the democratic cause while imagining that they were strengthening it. It was Federal overseers, by enforcing the established rules in an inflated situation, who struck their own blows for, and not against, democracy.

Democracy, after all, is not dependent upon particular leaders. It is dependent upon particular procedures,



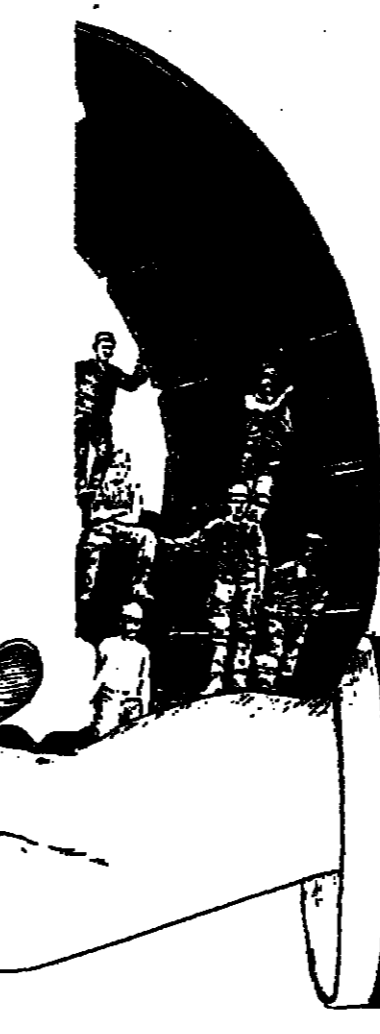
above all the rule of law, open debate, full disclosure and respect for the wishes of the majority. The best indicator of a healthy democracy is not the number of times or the loudness with which someone declares him or herself a democrat. It is the number of people who are willing to submit themselves to the democratic process and abide by its outcome.

It remains to be seen whether the Hoffa campaign violated the campaign rules as well. A Federal officer has ordered that Mr. Hoffa's campaign also be investigated for possible infractions. But apart from the matter of possible illegalities, the existence of an opposition to the reform movement within the teamsters is actually healthy for the organization — for without principled electoral opposition, movements stagnate and democracy ossifies.

This is not to say that a Hoffa victory would advance the cause of teamster democracy as much as Mr. Carey managed to do during his tenure (although it is important to remember that the Hoffa slate does enjoy strong rank-and-file support in several regions of the country). Rather, it is to say that without an opposition, without a choice, there can be no democracy.

From its earliest days, organized labor has produced its best leaders in times of sharp competition between two or more visions of what the movement should be, and how it should go about accomplishing its aims. Early in this century, Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor repeatedly said that he owed as much to his socialist opponents as he did to his craft-union allies. In the 1930's and after, Sidney Hillman, John L. Lewis, and the other industrial union leaders of the Congress of Industrial Organizations honed their skills and consolidated their support by countering repeated challenges from both the right and the left.

What was true then is true now, for the teamsters and for organized labor in general. On numerous issues like NAFTA, the labor movement needs as much debate as possible, lest Mr.



Union democracy lives, despite the teamsters' troubles.

Sweeney and the other new reformist leaders become, in their own way, just as myopic and unyielding as their predecessors did. In labor, as in government, leaders are only as strong, as capable and as responsive as their most viable opponents require them to be.

The harsh news of Mr. Carey's disgrace is that reformers need to be watched as closely as the old guard. The good news is that thanks to the hard work and dedicated past leadership of reformers like Ron Carey, millions of teamsters can look forward, after years in the wilderness, to enjoying a more democratic and representative union.

Unfortunately, like proud Moses, Mr. Carey will have to look on from afar.

In America  
BOB HERBERT

# Young, Poor, Positive

Nushawn Williams made a brief appearance in Bronx Criminal Court on Thursday. A judge postponed sentencing him on a drug charge pending a psychological evaluation that will take 30 days. Mr. Williams did not say anything during the hearing. When it was over he was taken back to Rikers Island, where he is being held.

Mr. Williams is the 21-year-old street thug who is believed to have infected at least nine women and young girls with H.I.V. The ultimate toll from this one-man epidemic will undoubtedly be much higher. Authorities believe he had unprotected sex with dozens of females, some of them very young.

The Williams story sent a shudder through the nation. But what is most frightening is not what Mr. Williams is alleged to have done — deliberately expose his sex partners to the virus that causes AIDS — but that the virus is being transmitted to so many poor and ignorant young people in very similar ways.

Nushawn Williams is not nearly the aberration that we would like to think. And young people, especially marginalized young people from poverty-stricken backgrounds, are not well prepared to protect themselves against that kind of menace.

"AIDS education as we've done it traditionally is basically a failure," said S. J. Avery, the director of Bronx AIDS Services, which works with AIDS victims and their families. "People are still engaging in high-risk behavior. We have a huge problem getting people to take it seriously. For many young people in the Bronx, the threat of AIDS is part of a whole constellation of problems that they have to deal with. I think it adds to their sense of fatalism. AIDS is likely another one of the things that is likely to get you."

Ms. Avery and her colleagues, in a series of interviews last week, talked about children and adolescents whose families have fallen apart, who frequently are exposed to the dangers of violent crime and illegal drugs, and who seldom, if ever, have enough money.

"H.I.V. and AIDS is not the big picture in their lives," said Diana Caraballo, the senior educator for Bronx AIDS Services. "It is not as important as having food on the table, clothes on their backs. You put a 13-, 14- or 15-year-old girl in that situation and a guy with a nice car, money and jewelry comes along and she will have unprotected sex."

Ms. Avery said she believed there was very little difference between some of the girls she sees in the Bronx and the young women and girls believed to have been infected by Nushawn Williams in upstate Chautauque County. Poor and with little to look forward to, they are vulnerable to a guy who comes along and makes them feel good.

"I can tell you what happens," said Ms. Avery. "The guy comes up and says, 'Hello,' and they hear him say, 'I love you.'"

## When H.I.V. is only one problem.

There is little question that large numbers of men and boys continue to have unprotected sex after learning they are infected with H.I.V. Some are filled with conscious or unconscious rage and in some sense are deliberately trying to do harm. Others simply care nothing at all about their partners. And many are in deep denial about their own health and what they are doing to others.

Said Ms. Caraballo: "We see a lot of kids who know their status but don't believe it because they are not yet sick. They continue to have sex. A boy will say, 'I tested positive but I ain't gonna use a condom. I'm not sick. And besides, I ain't gonna marry her.'"

Very little attention is being paid to all of this. The daily lives of kids in the inner city, where AIDS is spreading fastest, is not considered good copy. Who cares?

Stacey Strother, who handles AIDS issues for Bronx Borough President Fernando Ferrer, may be correct when, speaking of the vulnerability of young women, she says: "If you have low self-esteem you are not likely to negotiate safer sex."

But the self-esteem of poor youngsters is a subject that draws yawns at best from the vast majority of Americans.

AIDS does not occur in a vacuum. With no cure and no vaccine at hand, the only way to defeat it is to link prevention efforts to an attack on the many other problems that are undermining the lives of young people.

At the moment, there is little chance of that happening.

Mr. Carey was forced to step aside after it was revealed that some of his advisers had illegally diverted union money into his re-election campaign. Federal officials overturned Mr. Carey's narrow victory in the election over James Hoffa Jr. (son of the late and still notorious teamster president, Jimmy Hoffa), and declared Mr. Carey ineligible to run in the make-up election, scheduled for next spring. Three of Mr. Carey's aides have pleaded guilty to one or more felony counts of conspiracy, embezzlement and fraud.

The worst may not be over for Mr. Carey and his allies. One of the guilty aides has implicated Richard Trumka, the AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, in the Carey campaign fund illegalities. This accusation may severely damage the credibility of the federation's reform leadership, including President John Sweeney. (Mr. Trumka has denied any wrongdoing, but has also refused to testify, pleading his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination.) Congress has

Sean Wilentz is a professor of history and the director of the program in American studies at Princeton University.

1986, the situation of the teamsters had improved. Every reasonable measure that could be taken to insure a fair and open debate of the issues had been taken. The Federal Government was overseeing the election. And as long as Congress provided the necessary money, the Government would continue to oversee future teamster elections until there was strong assurance that democracy had been firmly entrenched inside the union.

In short, all those friends of union democracy who violated the rules either did so to achieve a goal that had already been achieved (in which case they were stupid) or had come to over-identify their side with the larger cause of union democracy (in which case they succumbed to a great and frequent temptation of all sorts of reform movements).

The decision to bar Mr. Carey from the upcoming election is certainly unfortunate, especially for him personally — but it does not and will not signal the end of either democracy or the reform impulse within the teamsters' union. Both are alive and well, particularly in rank-and-file insurgent groups like Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which has led the fight against mob domination for years. Indeed, Mr. Carey was much

### Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

# Sampling Is Not Enumerating

WASHINGTON — As elections demonstrate, a poll is an educated guess and not a hard count. A sampling is not an enumeration. Often pollsters are mistaken.

Here's how polling warps politics. In the 1996 Presidential campaign, most major polls showed Bob Dole trailing throughout by a whopping 12 to 20 percentage points, throwing the G.O.P. into despair. Even right-wing publications hooted at their "sure loser"; dispirited Republicans stayed home in droves.

Toward campaign's end, the New York Times/CBS poll — run by the most respected statistical geniuses and random samplers alive — showed Bill Clinton ahead by a likely landslide of 18 points. ABC and NBC/Wall Street Journal said 12. But one poll — the Zogby poll for Reuters — was out of step. It showed only a seven-point gap.

On Election Day, the actual enumeration showed Zogby alone to be within one point of accuracy. The other polls that made the Dole campaign a laughingstock in the media — and helped confer a false inevitability to Clinton's re-election from the start — had been grievously misleading. (In the Times/CBS case, fully 10 points off.)

Thus can reliance on samples distort our politics. Sampling is no science; ask President Dewey and Prime Minister Peres.

Democrats want to gain a political edge in 2000 by changing our method of counting American noses. This flies in the face of the U.S. Constitution, which in Article I calls for an "actual Enumeration," with a capital E —

## Time to cut the non-census.

which means "counting one by one."

Democrats led by President Clinton say the founding fogies did not have available the blessings of modern sampling and their stricture about counting everybody can be ignored. Liberals want to replace, or "augment," laborious counting with the educated guesswork of sampling.

Reason: Census takers don't like to climb five stories in crummy neighborhoods, where residents are more likely to vote Democratic. This assumes most of the people who hide from Government bell-ringers, or don't have phones, or can't read their mail, or are recent immigrants, are likely to be Democrats.

That stereotype strikes me as insulting. But the Democratic minority in Congress, backed up by the White House, insists Democrats have been getting a "short count" by letting the Census Bureau do it the constitutional way. By having a statistician put a thumb on the scale, liberals figure they can pick up a dozen House seats and increase spending on the poor.

Was the 1990 Census accurate? Probably not; sloppiness in planning, fearfulness about interviewing and poor mail service failed to count millions — including libertarian moonshiners in the Blue Ridge Mountains and Republicans in Beverly Hills mansions, all threatening armed response.

To do better next time, Democrats want to (1) do another slapdash nose count; (2) redo selected slums with a vengeance; and (3) extrapolate those redone samples to skew — or "weight" — the earlier count. An oversight committee (Charlie Trie, chairman?) would watch out for political manipulation. This is supposed to increase people's trust in government.

The right answer is to improve enumeration before 2000: (1) advertise to reassure the reluctant and gain their cooperation; (2) improve mailing lists to reach everyone with an address; and (3) train census foot soldiers to make them more effective in finding the homeless.

The wrong answer is the cockamamie compromise that Clinton and Republican leaders have just perpetrated: a bill passed with a straight face by the Congress, solemnly signed by the President, requiring the Supreme Court to rule in advance on the constitutionality of sampling.

Here's what will happen. The Justices will respond unanimously to the legislative and executive branches: "Whaddaya, out of your minds? Didn't we just teach you on the legislative veto that we're not in the business of giving advisory opinions? We will decide when an issue is ripe for our decision and who has standing, so take your silly bill and get out of here." (Justists call this "denying cert.")

Justice Hugo Black read the line in the Constitution that begins "Congress shall make no law" and opined "No law means no law." In the same way, "actual Enumeration" means what it says. Start counting. This sample is not for sale.

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Will this winter bring scenes like this?

(Courtesy of Yotiot Aharanov)

## After the flood

Guta Sherman lost her entire kitchen and most of her furniture in the floods that inundated Ra'anana last year. She remembers how the waters created "a small Sea of Galilee in our yard, ruining the cars' engines."

Children had to be carried out one by one from Dekel Elementary School, the puddles were so deep. The floods came after more than 90 millimeters of torrential rains swept the Sharon area last January. A gas station was washed away, a supermarket warehouse was ruined and some residents were stranded in waist-deep water in their homes. The navy had to bring rubber dinghies to rescue trapped people.

With winter approaching, Ra'anana residents are wondering what's in store for them this year.

The municipality has budgeted NIS 30 million to put in a new drainage system to relieve the lower lying areas, which were hardest hit. But city manager Uri Keidar cannot say for sure whether enough has been done to prevent a repeat of last year's floods.

The city council voted unanimously to give the project priority after last year's rains, Keidar said. But the three-stage project will not be completed until 1999.

"The first NIS 10m. has been invested to complete the first stage," says Keidar. "We have turned to other sources in the gov-

**Last year, floods wreaked havoc in Ra'anana. Catherine Cohen looks at what's being done to stave off disaster this winter**

ernment for more funds, but have not yet received any answers.

"In any case, NIS 10m. is not a grand amount and the continuation of the project does depend on getting these extra funds," he added.

New drain ducts have already been installed in some of the worst trouble spots in town (the intersection of Sheshet Hayamin and Schwartz streets and 800 meters north along Akiva Street; and at the intersection of Weizmann and Keren Hayesod streets and 800 meters down to the Ra'anana River, in the direction of

the industrial zone.)

But drainage pipes will be installed only next year, when the city intends to start cleaning out the sewers as well.

Keidar commends local residents for drawing up a petition that persuaded the city to give priority to the drainage project.

The petition was organized by 48-year-old Alegra Hayim, who has since moved to the United States. The demand, sent to Ra'anana Mayor Ze'ev Bielski, was signed by 20 building committees on Schwartz Street representing more than 200 families.

Alegra's mother, Hilda Hayim, who still lives on Schwartz Street, sighs as she remembers last year's floods.

"The street pavement was not properly angled and the water screamed into our garden and our lobby instead of into the water ducts on the road," she said. "The lobby filled with more than half a meter of water. About 20 centimeters of water accumulated in the garage causing irreparable damage to several cars, and the bomb shelter was deep in water and had to be drained."

"The water was also knee-deep in the elevator, which was out of use for two days and also had to be drained. She said that workers have been digging and installing new drainage for the past three months. "I hope they finally figure out how to solve the drainage problem," she added. "I can't say they aren't trying."

Keidar couldn't guarantee that



A gas station attendant at the Ra'anana intersection keeps his feet above water in last year's floods. (Israel Sun)

there wouldn't be any flooding this year. But he said he expects that even heavy rains wouldn't cause as much damage as they did last year.

"The people at the municipality may be sleeping easy because of

the project," says Haim Sherman whose parents' home was flooded last year. "But whenever it rains my parents and I still don't sleep."

"I try not to be pessimistic," adds Hilda Hayim, "but we won't know until the first days of heavy rain."

## Lost for words

You'd think they were playing for the world championships.

Actually, they were, but what attracted the swarm of media to their table was not so much prowess as politics. For Jerusalemite JJ Jonah, and Salah Salih of Saudi Arabia, this was war - a war of words, but genteel, manly, collegial.

"It was odd," JJ recalled last week, on his return from the World Scrabble Championships in Washington DC. "You'd think we had nothing in common, but with Scrabble, we were culturally alike."

For one game at least, the media abandoned the big-name players at Table 1 to check in on this miniature peace process (this was, after all, Washington DC).

"The reporters got right to the point. First they asked, 'Did you win?' I said 'Yeah.' Then they asked, 'What was it like playing your enemy?'"

JJ rolls his eyes and laughs. "My enemy? No, we didn't see it like that. We were real friendly." (This was not, strictly speaking, a first: a couple of years ago, a player from Saudi Arabia attended the Jerusalem Scrabble Club.)

Several newspapers published a photo of JJ, wearing a kippa crocheted with the words "Scrabble" and "JJ," playing against Salih, their national flags displayed alongside the board. "When I told Salih that I heard his picture was in an Israeli newspaper, he couldn't believe it."

JJ AND Paloma Raychbart of Ramat Gan; the two Israelis among 80 players from 36 countries, often found themselves matched against players from the Moslem world - or against each other (Paloma beat JJ twice). If you keep score of such things, the Israelis were a combined 8-2. JJ defeated the Saudi twice, Rajah Abdullah of Malaysia and Assad ul-Haq of Qatar once each, and had a win and loss against Linda Pray of Oman.

Paloma had wins against Abdullah, ul-Haq and Wone Mamadou of Kuwait. Perhaps in the interest of regional stability, she had her worst result against the Saudi, losing 594-290. She didn't discuss politics with any of them.

"I wasn't going to initiate any conversations like that," she says, tight-lipped. But when Paloma, originally from England, took on the player from France, ah - that got her Irish up a tad.

JJ, 27, who immigrated from Canada at the age of eight, considers himself thoroughly Israeli. So naturally, when he was paired against Austin Tan Kiat Hing of Singapore, JJ greeted him in fluent Chinese. He also started Ken Nakai of Japan with a few words of Japanese. A sudden thought seized him later: "Y'know, I could have talked to the Arabs in Arabic too."

For all that, the tournament's lingua franca was, of course, English. "It was really weird, though: some of the players - such as the Thais, Singaporeans, the Romanian - they don't really understand English very well, but they play English Scrabble. They know the words, not the language," says JJ.

Even weirder is that some of the North Americans were like that too. "These guys are phenomenal geniuses, their brains work on a higher plane, but say 'Hi, how are you?' and they stare at you blankly and say 'uh...uh.' I asked one guy how he did in a game, and he answered: 'Academically?' I have no idea what he meant by that.

"One of the funniest

moments of the tournament was when the director, in his opening remarks, said: 'In this room are some of the most brilliant minds in the world. Stop asking what time the first game is tomorrow morning.' I mean, there were signs all over, but they couldn't figure out where the bathroom was."

At that level, talk is less about words per se, and more about mathematical probabilities, tile management and computerized iterations (for which - and this is the scary part - they don't even need computers).

One such mastermind in attendance, JJ Chew (no relation) of Toronto, once won a high-school contest by memorizing pi to over 500 places.

JOEL SHERMAN, one of the odder oddballs, "walks, talks, and in every way, behaves unusually," JJ reports. But you can get away with a lot when you earn the title "World Champion." The 35-year-old retired bank clerk from the Bronx finished first, then won a best-of-five championship series against the runner-up, his practice mate Matt Graham, to win \$25,000.

Sherman goes by the nickname GI Joe; the GI stands for "gastrointestinal," a tribute to the various illnesses and constant gaseous ructions that render him unable to work, allowing him to devote his life to Scrabble.

Graham, 31, a stand-up comedian, might be a better player if he lived in Israel. Earlier in the tournament, he challenged the word HAF-TAROT (it's acceptable); in the final game against Sherman, with the letters BDEINOU, he might have won had he seen BDEOUN.

"It's incredible, being among them," JJ recalls. "During the championship series - the two finalists played in a sealed room, while almost 100 players and fans watched on closed-circuit TV - we could see their tiles, and the plays they made. In his opening rack, Graham had the letters AFFIN-STU."

Normal people might see FAN, or FUN, or maybe even FAINT. Not these people. "In a second, everyone starting shouting together: 'FUSTIAN! FUSTIAN!' It was hilarious."

JJ detected one difference that sets apart the stratospheric geniuses: "they never blame bad luck."

He was somewhat disappointed with his results, 10-11, 53rd place (Paloma, 9-12, was 60th), Nu? So what happened? He shakes his head and grimaces. "Bad luck."

If he can overcome two other factors, he believes he could muscle into the top 20.

First of all, experience. "The level of play, the intensity, was unbelievable."

More important, word knowledge. Players in Israel abide by the 100,000-word American Scrabble dictionary. But that's a pittance compared to the 140,000 entries of the British dictionary, which most of the world uses. (Both were used in the championships.) JJ tried desperately to learn "new" words, burnishing them into that part of his brain that collects and collates obscure words, and even the relationships of individual letters.

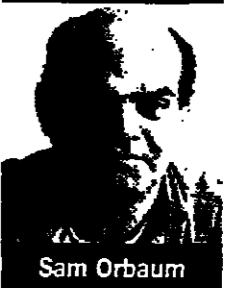
"Those 40,000 extra words make it a very, very different game," he says.

"Mind you, by the end of the tournament, I'd learned a lot of new words."

It must be a relief to be back home, at the Jerusalem Scrabble Club, where JJ is the champion and the vocabulary is mercifully familiar.

"Not really," JJ moans. "Now I have to unlearn all those new words."

### Not Page One



Sam Orbaum

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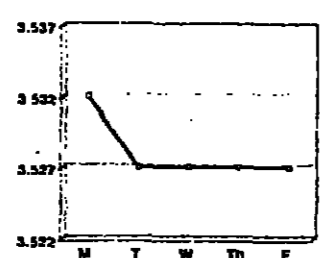
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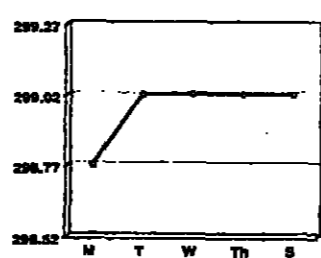
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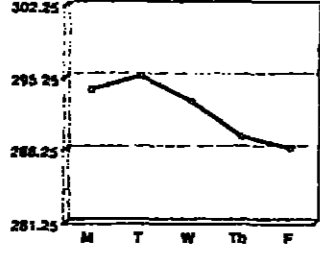


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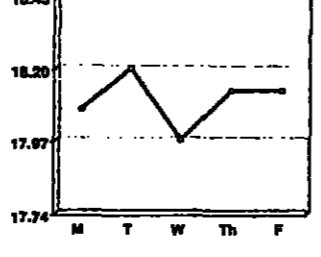
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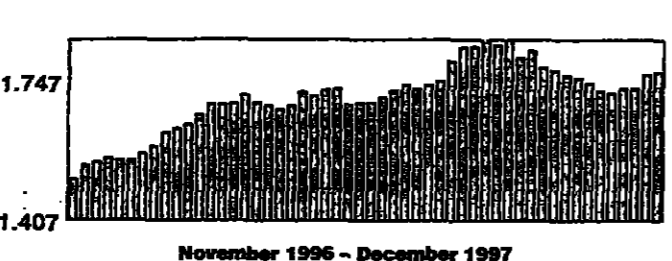
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\$ per barrel of Brent crude

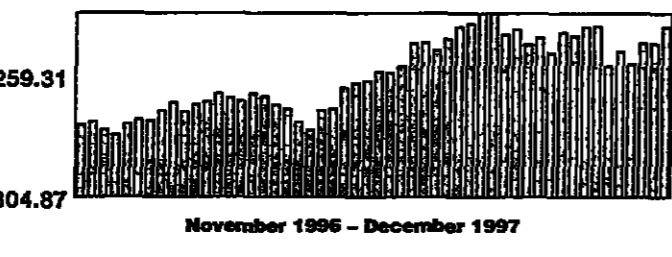


\*TASE/Shekel did not trade yesterday due to strike.

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## Discount Inv. sells Clal stake to IDB

By DAN GERSTENFELD

Discount Investments said yesterday that it will sell its 6.1 percent holding in Clal Israel to its parent company IDB Development Corporation for NIS 195 million. The company will sell its stake in Clal at NIS 1.04 a share, which is equal to its average trading price

over the last 30 days. IDB, which holds 42% of Clal, controls the holding company and analysts said that the move was expected and is in line with Discount's strategy.

Dov Tadmor, managing director of Discount Investments, said that the main reason for the transaction is that investors usually don't like to see one investment company holding shares in another investment company. "The deal will have no negative impact on investors, as it was done at the market price," Tadmor said. He declined to say how the company is going to use the money.

In a statement, Discount said that the deal is part of its policy of developing its investment portfolio and that it is interested in "specific areas." The company has stated that it intends to focus mainly on the fields of communications, infrastructure, and financial services.

Boaz Leviatan, an analyst at Sabar Securities, said the deal will benefit shareholders. "Discount Investments received the shares in Clal on various occasions in the past, but it was not logical to keep on holding them," Leviatan said.

"It was inappropriate for IDB to hold part of its holdings in Clal through Discount."

## UBS, SBC to create No. 1 fund manager

ANDREW BLACKMAN and RETO GREGORI

ZURICH - Union Bank of Switzerland and Swiss Bank Corp., Switzerland's largest and third-largest banks, plan to unite in a share swap to create a company with a market value of about SFR 84 billion, (\$59 billion), a person familiar with the situation said.

While UBS shareholders will own 60 percent of the enlarged bank, which will be called United Bank of Switzerland, the company will be run by SBC Chief Executive Marcel Ospel. As many as 12,000 jobs will be lost, more than 5,000 of them outside Switzerland, this source said. UBS and SBC declined to comment.

The merger comes as the global banking industries consolidate. UBS's position as the world's third-biggest asset manager was under threat after Merrill Lynch & Co. last month said it will buy the UK's Mercury Asset Management Group Plc for \$5.2 billion, raising its assets to \$450 billion.

"It's a wise move concerning the competitiveness of Swiss banks," said Peter-Mark Vogel, a fund manager at Societe Generale Bank & Trust. "There will be a lot of synergies, but it will take time to consolidate."

A union between UBS and SBC, the owner of SBC Warburg Dillon Read, will create a banking giant with estimated assets under management of more than SFR 1 trillion, leapfrogging Fidelity to become the world's biggest money manager.

The move follows a flurry of mergers in banking and financial services. In November, Travelers Group Inc. completed its \$9.3 billion acquisition of Salomon Inc., months after Morgan Stanley

Group Inc. and Dean Witter, Discover & Co. merged in an \$11 billion transaction.

UBS and SBC have a combined workforce of about 58,000 people, 40,000 of them in Switzerland. The union will give the banks more clout in investment banking, and allow them to cut costs in their Swiss retail network. The Swiss units have held back rising profits from investment banking and asset management for years.

Three of the new bank's four divisions will be run by SBC managers: Gary Brinson will be head of asset management, while Johannes de Gier will run investment banking, and another unnamed SBC official will head private banking, said the person familiar with the plan.

Stephan Haeringer, in charge of Switzerland at UBS, will be head of the combined company's retail-banking division. Mathis Caballavetta, currently UBS's chief executive, will be chairman of the new bank, the people said.

Credit Suisse Group, currently Switzerland's second-largest financial services company, will become the biggest December 15 when it completes its acquisition of Winterthur Insurance Co. for about SFR 15b. Swiss francs in stock.

In April 1996, Credit Suisse approached UBS offering a merger, but was rebuffed by the No. 1 bank, which said it was concerned about job losses in Switzerland. UBS and SBC shares rose last week amid speculation of a merger.

On Friday, UBS shares rose 2.1%, while SBC shares rose to 3.8%, to 447.5 francs. That brought gains since merger speculation began Wednesday to 4.4% for UBS and 7.2% for SBC. (Bloomberg)



Italian students protest proposed education cuts. Italian high school students dress up in historic costumes and carry banners in Rome to protest proposed cuts to the public school system. (AP)

## Kitan lays off 250 workers in Upper Nazareth, Tel Aviv

By DAVID HARRIS

Kitan Industries yesterday became the latest textile company to announce a job-cut. The company is axing 250 of its 320-strong workforce in Upper Nazareth, and a further 30 at its Tel Aviv head office.

The decision to slash staff was made on Thursday, when Kitan's directors approved a strategic pro-

gram for the company's future. There will be wide-scale cutbacks in the company's spinning and weaving operations, which in turn will mean much of the older machinery will be discarded and not replaced.

To implement the changes, the company expects to spend some NIS 42.8 million, according to a notice sent yesterday to the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange.

Kitan Industries, a subsidiary of Kitan Consolidated, said there were several reasons for the move:

- Lowering of import duties.
- General increase in wages, but particularly in the minimum wage.
- A real terms increase in the cost of municipal property taxes (arona).
- Costs of environmental improvements.
- Appreciation of the shekel.

A reduction in the size of grants available to development areas.

An increase in world competition in the industry, particularly because of the lowering of world trade tariffs.

The company's spinning and weaving activities will now be centered in its Dimona factory, with newer machinery in place. The Nazareth plant will concentrate on bedroom linen sewing. Less than a year ago the company transferred much of its sewing to the territories and Jordan to save costs.

All the workers in the Nazareth factory staged a walkout in response to the news. Staff main-

tain this is another step leading to the closure of the factory.

This was denied yesterday by Kitan Industries Managing Director Gidi Lax. High-quality sewing will remain in Nazareth, he said.

"There is no intention to move the company to Jordan," said Lax. "I see a very good future for the company."

Lax said he is not angry with anyone in particular and said he understands if the minimum wage or exchange rate policies are seen as beneficial for the country as a whole or individual sections, but the government must realize that there will be those that cannot survive in such an economic climate.

## IEC wage 135% higher than national average

By Globes News Service

The highest average salaries in the economy are paid to workers in the Israel Electric Corporation and the water supply sector, according to figures published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics.

In September, they reached a monthly average of NIS 13,185. This is 135% higher than the national average, which was NIS 5,610.

The data does not include workers in the territories.

The information reveals that salaries in the electricity and water sector rose in real terms by a steep 3.7% in the months January - September, compared to only 1.9% for the national average salary.

The salary rise in the electricity

and water sector follows a real increase of 12% in the last two years.

The second place on the salaries table was taken by workers in banks and insurance companies, with an average salary of NIS 9,201, 64% higher than the national average.

Real salaries in banking and insurance rose by a sharp 3.9% in January - September this year, a continuation of the 5.7% increase in 1996.

The lowest average salaries were found in hotels, cafes and restaurants.

In September they reached an average of only NIS 2,961, 43% less than the national average. The agricultural sector also had a low average of NIS 3,377, which is 40% less than the national average salary.

**PORTS AND RAILWAYS AUTHORITY ISRAEL RAILWAYS**

Tender No. MS/403-97 - Monoblock wheels

**NOTICE OF AMENDMENT**

- Ports and Railways Authority (hereinafter referred to as the "Authority") informs hereby that the final date for submitting proposals for participation in the aforementioned tender is extended until 24.12.97, 09.00 a.m.
- Proposals missing from the tender box by the said final date will not be accepted for consideration by the Authority.
- The rest of the conditions of the tender remain the same as before.

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**רשות שדות התעופה בישראל**  
**Israel Airports Authority**

**Ben Gurion 2000 Project**  
**Public Tender**  
**Supply of Construction Materials**

The Israel Airports Authority (IAA) hereby requests separate proposals for the supply of materials for the new Ben Gurion 2000 Project.

- Tender No. F 3020033 Supply of Toilet Accessories
- Tender No. F3030034 Supply of Ceramic Tiles
- Tender No. F3040035 Supply of Toilet Fixtures
- Tender NO. F3050036 Supply of Hardware for Doors and Frames

**Proposal Pre-conditions:**

- Bidder must be registered in Israel and/or recognized as a legal entity in its country of origin.
- Bidder is an authorized representative of the manufacturer(s) of the product(s) it proposes in its proposal.
- Bidder has a minimum of five (5) years experience in the supply of the construction related products.
- Bidder's annual average gross revenue in the supply of construction related materials during the last three (3) years is a minimum of one million US dollars (\$1,000,000) during the last three (3) years.
- Bidder has successfully fulfilled and completed a minimum of two (2) purchase orders, each of a minimum value of one hundred thousand US dollars (\$100,000) during the last three (3) years.
- Bidder must also provide, as part of the proposal, a bank guarantee in the amount stated in the respective tender documents.

Proposal Documents: Tender documents may be obtained until the date specified below against a non-refundable payment of five thousand shekels (NIS 5000) inclusive of Value Added Tax, for Tenders F3020033, F3030034, and F3050036. Tender documents for Tender F3040035 may be obtained until time of bid against a non-refundable payment of two thousand five hundred shekels (NIS 2500), inclusive of Value Added Tax.

Tender documents are available from the Reception of the Main Office of the Israel Airports Authority, Ben Gurion International Airport, from December 14, 1997 to December 18, 1997, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 12 noon, Sunday through Thursday. After these hours and/or dates, tender documents may be obtained by contacting the Project Management Firm (PMF), Contracts Administrator, Mr. Amnon Yeshpe at telephone number 972-3-977-4484.

Prior to purchase of tender documents, bidders may review their content and proposal pre-conditions at the location and during the times indicated above.

All qualifying proposals should be delivered in sealed envelopes not later than 10 a.m. local time on January 8, 1998 to the appropriate tender box located in the Archive of the Airports Authority Main Office, 2nd Floor, Room No. 113, Ben Gurion International Airport, Israel.

A joint pre-proposal conference will be held at the Ben Gurion 2000 Project Site Offices on December 21, 1997 at 10 a.m. to respond to bidders' questions and to clarify provisions of the RFPs. Attendance is optional. Site access must be arranged in advance as stated in the tender documents.

The IAA is not bound to accept the lowest proposal or any other proposal whatsoever.

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## GLOBES

Israel's Financial Daily

03-697-9254

March 23, 1997 The Jerusalem Post

**VEHICLES**

General

BUYING & SELLING

Mercedes 1996 2000 cc 1600 cc 1900 cc 2300 cc 2500 cc 2800 cc 3000 cc 3200 cc 3500 cc 3600 cc 3800 cc 4000 cc 4200 cc 4500 cc 4800 cc 5000 cc 5200 cc 5500 cc 5800 cc 6000 cc 6200 cc 6500 cc 6800 cc 7000 cc 7200 cc 7500 cc 7800 cc 8000 cc 8200 cc 8500 cc 8800 cc 9000 cc 9200 cc 9500 cc 9800 cc 10000 cc

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# Support for Sprewell is misguided

Few things in the culture these days spark a firestorm like a professional athlete in trouble. The discussion of the NBA's one-year suspension of Latrell Sprewell on Thursday has quickly moved from sports channels to general talk radio, from sports agents to Johnnie Cochran, from the seemingly simple issue of the conflict between a player and his coach to a complex examination that has introduced race.

### COMMENT

By MICHAEL WILBORN

In Thursday's *Washington Post*, I wrote a column saying the NBA did exactly the right thing in suspending Sprewell for choking his coach, P.J. Carlesimo, then coming back 20 minutes later to resume the attack. Friday and Saturday the calls streamed in, usually — and unfortunately — along predictable lines. Most of the white callers said they saw an out-of-control punk who in any walk of life would have been fired for assaulting his superior. About half the black callers said a coach has no business screaming in the face of a grown man and that the suspension, which will cost Sprewell \$25 million, is grossly unfair and in some way prejudiced.

I wasn't surprised, which is probably the sad thing. But what worries me more than the predictable stereotypical reactions is the referendum-on-race subplot that may take over the entire Sprewell-Carlesimo debate in the next few days.

A few months ago, *US News & World Report* had a cover story asking if professional sports are bad for black America. Issues such as the one now involving Sprewell are why I can't just kiss off the question with an unequivocal "No."

It's frightening to me, as a black man who makes a living in the sports industry, that any behavior demonstrated by a black athlete — no matter how criminal or immoral — is so easily excused by a large segment of my community. Black athletes now have reached the status formerly accorded only black preachers: They don't have to be accountable to anyone. Mike Tyson can say on camera that he has done worse to women than whatever he did to Desiree Washington, and black women say Tyson is being persecuted by white folk and the media.

The Sprewell case isn't that outrageous, but it's sad nonetheless.

Grant Hill says players in his sport need to be tested for marijuana, and you don't even hear two hands clapping. Sprewell assaults a white coach and there's a national black posse riding to the rescue.

When I was growing up playing various sports, there was always some responsible figure — a black figure, by the way — there to say, "Son, you can't do

that. I don't mean my father — I mean a coach, a neighbor, a bystander.

"Son, we'll run you out of here if you say that again." Or, "Young man, you sass that referee one more time and you're suspended for the season."

But what's the message now? "Kid, you got so much game and so much money you can do whatever you want to. We'll support you." That's not support, it's negligence.

We've neglected to tell a generation of ballplayers that their ability to shoot or tackle and run doesn't preclude them from being civil. There are fewer and fewer brothers out there with the guts to tell these kids, "Son, you can't do that."

Fewer leaders, more apologists. The whole world is a groupie-in-waiting. You might be perceived as an Uncle Tom if you tell youngsters to mind authority, shut his mouth and play ball.

Every kid in America, black and white, knows the ins and outs and all the subtleties of the culture of basketball. Coaches get in your face. It's a law. You think Bill Russell and John Havlicek didn't want to choke Red Auerbach until his eyes fell out? You think Grant Hill and Lindsey Hunter wouldn't like to dump Doug Collins into the river this very second? If screaming in a player's face was a crime, John Thompson and Bob Knight would be on death row.

Would Carlesimo's bully, screaming behavior be tolerated in the corporate workplace? Of course not. But the NBA isn't the day-to-day workplace. Everyday folks don't make \$7.7 million, as Sprewell does. When you so happily cash that paycheck, it's clearly understood you've sold yourself into the culture of sports, in this case basketball. You take the boogie, the newspaper's criticism, the coach's maniacal screaming. Period. And you don't choke or fight. If you don't want to adhere to the rules of the culture, fine, get out.

I often sit right beside the formerly accorded only black preachers: They don't have to be accountable to anyone. Mike Tyson can say on camera that he has done worse to women than whatever he did to Desiree Washington, and black women say Tyson is being persecuted by white folk and the media.

The Sprewell case isn't that outrageous, but it's sad nonetheless.

Grant Hill says players in his sport need to be tested for marijuana, and you don't even hear two hands clapping. Sprewell assaults a white coach and there's a national black posse riding to the rescue.

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# Rockets in south-of-the-border win

MEXICO CITY (AP) — The NBA's first regular-season game in Mexico was a success for the league — and the Houston Rockets. Charles Barkley had 19 points and 17 rebounds as the Houston Rockets beat the Dallas Mavericks 108-106 before a Saturday sellout crowd of 20,635 at the Sports Palace.

The game was sold out two days in advance and scalpers were selling \$11 tickets for \$37.50 — 11 days' work at minimum wage.

Michael Finley scored a career-high 35 points for Dallas, which was playing its second game under coach Don Nelson, who took over Wednesday after Jim Cleamons was fired.

**Knicks 90, Hornets 79**  
John Starks scored 27 points and Charlie Ward sparked a third-quarter surge that gave New York Knicks its sixth straight home victory.

Starks had 16 of his points in the second quarter and Ward scored all 10 of his in the third, including a pair of 3-pointers and a layup that allowed the Knicks to break open a close game.

The victory snapped a two-game losing streak for New York that included a dreadful performance in a 105-91 loss Thursday night at Dallas.

The Knicks righted themselves by overcoming 24 turnovers and holding the Hornets to 35 percent shooting that included a 3-for-13 performance by Glen Rice and a 4-for-15 outing by David Wesley.

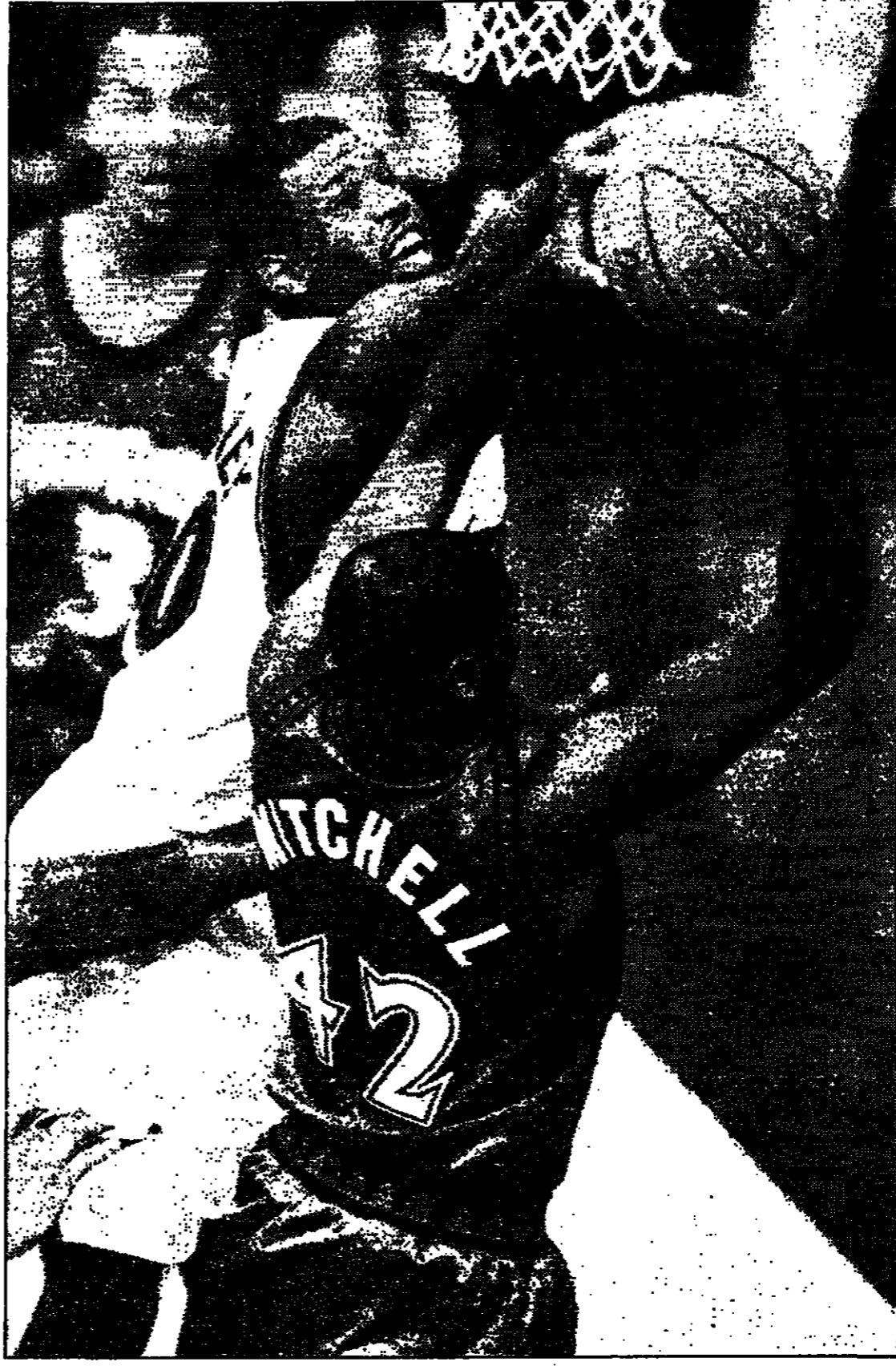
The Hornets have lost four of their last five after starting the season 9-3.

**Wizards 114**  
Timberwolves 103  
Chris Webber had 33 points and 12 rebounds as Washington remained perfect in its new home.

Juan Howard added 26 points for the Wizards, who are 3-0 at the MCI Center after opening the season 0-5 in their old building, the US Air Arena.

Stephon Marbury had 27 points and seven assists for Minnesota. Tom Gugliotta, who missed part of the third quarter after getting an accidental elbow under his left eye from Webber, finished with 24 points and 11 rebounds for the Timberwolves.

**Magic 83, Clippers 79**  
Horace Grant, back off the injured list, scored 25 points and Gerald Wilkins added 21 as Orlando won on the road.



UNDER THE BOARDS — Timberwolves' Sam Mitchell pulls down a rebound against Washington's Calbert Cheaney in first-quarter action. The Wizards won 114-103.

Charlotte	21	23	17	19	79
New York	24	28	17	21	90
CHARLOTTE (79)	Rice 3-13 9-15, Ellis 2-10 2-10 0-0, Dwyer 5-11 0-0 0-0, 6-12 4-7 18, Dwyer 5-11 3-4 10 0-0, Dudley 2-2 1-2 5, Wesley 4-7 2-2 0-0, Reid 2-2 2-2 6, Totals 28-79				
NEW YORK (90)	Mills 4-8 2-2 11, Oakley 5-11 0-0 0-0, Ewing 5-14 7-10 17, Houston 5-11 0-0 0-0, Ward 4-5 0-0 10, B. Williams 0-1 0-0 0, Starks 2-18 8-27, Chalks 0-2 0-0 0, Dudley 2-2 1-2 5, Myers 0-0 0-0 0, H. Williams 0-1 0-0 0, Totals 30-90				

MINNESOTA	27	24	25	26	103
WASHINGTON	23	27	25	35	114
MINNESOTA (103)	Garnett 9-14 3-6 21, Gugliotta 7-11 10-11 24, Roberts 4-10 2-4 7, Pendergast 1-1 0-0 2, Mitchell 2-5 1-2 5, Porter 1-5 0-0 2, Hammond 4-7 0-0 8, Wheat 0-2 0-0 0, Jordan 0-0 0-0 0, Totals 40-78 20-93				
WASHINGTON (114)	Webber 11-19 10-33, Howard 9-15 8-10 26, Davis 1-2 0-0 2, Cheaney 4-13 0-1 8, Spivey 5-11 7-17, Murray 9-12 1-2 3, Easley 1-4 0-0 2, Grant 0-0 0-0 0, Whitney 1-5 0-0 0, Wallace 0-0 0-0 0, Ham 0-0 0-0 0, Totals 50-77 31-95				

HOUSTON	28	28	24	30	108
DALLAS	25	24	25	28	102
HOUSTON (108)	Barkley 6-13 11-19 25, 3-5 2-3 8, Wells 10-17 17, Anderson 0-0 12, Dwyer 6-17 2-7 17, E. Davis 2-5 0-0 4, Johnson 5-12 2-3 15, Rhodes 0-0 0-0 6, Bulford 4-8 0-0 10, Totals 35-82 37-108				
DALLAS (102)	Finley 10-19 11-22 35, Scott 4-11 0-0 9, Murrain 3-4 1-2 7, Finley 7-12 2-2 16, Spivey 5-15 6-8 18, Green 1-1 0-0 2, H. Davis 5-3 4-16, Wells 0-0 0-0 0, Arsty 0-1 0-0 0, Webster 1-1 0-0 2, Oke 0-0 0-0 0, Totals 37-81 22-102				

ORLANDO	26	13	28	18	83
L.A. CLIPPERS	24	20	21	14	79
ORLANDO (83)	Grant 10-19 5-25 22, O'Leary 1-0 0-0 2, Scheyer 4-8 0-0 8, Williams 9-16 0-2 21, Price 4-12 1-1 8, Armstrong 2-6 5-8 8, Anderson 1-4 0-0 2, Harper 2-5 3-4 7, Evans 0-2 0-0 0, Totals 33-80 14-82				
L.A. CLIPPERS (79)	Rogers 4-7 1-2 10, Wright 2-5 0-0 4, Vranos 2-5 0-0 4, Puckett 5-11 2-2 15, Richardson 3-8 0-0 6, Martin 2-6 0-0 6, Taylor 5-12 2-4 12, Cline 2-5 1-2 5, Murray 5-11 3-4 14, Robinson 1-3 0-2 3, Totals 31-74 16-79				

EASTERN CONFERENCE				
Atlantic Division				
	W	L	Pct.	GB
Miami	12	5	.706	—
Orlando	13	7	.650	1/2
New Jersey	11	7	.611	1 1/2
New York	11	7	.611	1 1/2
Washington	8	11	.421	5
Boston	7	11	.389	5 1/2
Philadelphia	4	11	.267	7
Central Division				
Atlanta	15	3	.833	—
Cleveland	11	6	.647	3 1/2
Indiana	10	6	.625	4
Chicago	11	7	.611	4
Charlotte	10	7	.588	4 1/2
Memphis	10	8	.556	5
Detroit	7	12	.368	8 1/2
Toronto	1	17	.053	17 1/2

WESTERN CONFERENCE				
Midwest Division				
	W	L	Pct.	GB
Houston	11	5	.688	—
Utah	11	7	.611	1
San Antonio	10	9	.524	2 1/2
Minnesota	8	10	.444	4
Memphis	7	13	.350	6
Dallas	5	13	.278	7
Denver	1	15	.063	10
Pacific Division				
L.A. Lakers	15	2	.882	—
Seattle	15	4	.789	1
Phoenix	11	4	.733	3
Portland	11	6	.647	4
Sacramento	5	14	.263	11
L.A. Clippers	3	15	.167	12 1/2
Golden State	2	14	.125	12 1/2

Saturday's results:  
New York 84, Carolina 79  
Washington 114, Minnesota 103  
Houston 108, Dallas 102  
Orlando 83, L.A. Clippers 79

# Thieves try to sell Ted Williams' rings — to son

BOSTON (AP) — Three men accused of trying to sell championship rings once owned by Boston Red Sox great Ted Williams back to the slugger's son were under arrest after a police sting operation.

The rings, which Williams had given to his son, John Henry Williams, were offered to the younger Williams for \$90,000.

The arrests were made Thursday night when the younger Williams and an undercover FBI agent met with two of the accused men for the exchange of the rings and money.

"These guys must have been out in left field to try to sell these stolen rings back to John Henry Williams," US Attorney Donald K. Shea said. "Ted Williams earned these rings

and his son shouldn't be shaken down trying to get them back."

Williams has the 6th highest batting average of all time, and is 10th among all time home run hitters — hitting 521 homers in his 19 years at bat.

Daniel P. Dunn, Gary Raso and Philip Castinetti were charged with selling two championship rings that they knew had been stolen from John Henry Williams.

The three men are charged with possession of stolen property.

They face up to 10 years in jail and a \$250,000 fine.

The complaints allege that Williams' son was initially contacted by Castinetti about

purchasing two of his father's championship rings — a 1986 commemorative Boston Red Sox American League Championship ring and a 1946 Red Sox American League championship ring.

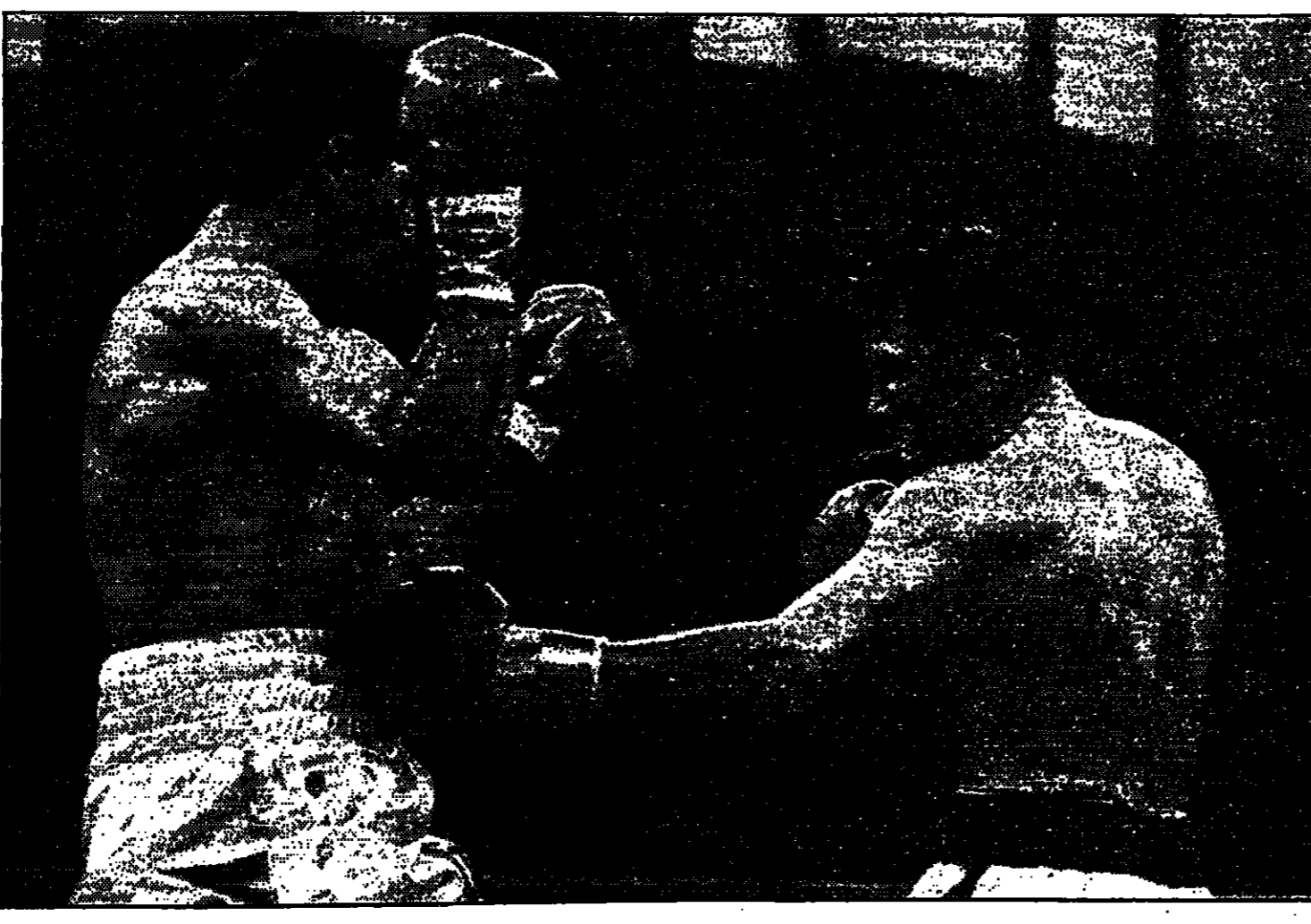
John Henry Williams had a three-way telephone conversation on Monday with Dunn and Raso, who were at Castinetti's sporting goods store in Everett, according to the complaints.

During the conversation, when John Henry Williams told the men that the rings had been stolen, Raso and Dunn were said to have replied that was not their concern and Williams would have to pay \$90,000 to get the rings back.

# De La Hoya retains WBC welterweight crown

ATLANTIC CITY (AP) — Oscar De La Hoya did nothing to change Wilfredo Rivera's opinion of him.

Before the fight Saturday night at Convention Hall, Rivera called De La Hoya a great champion. He said it again, not long after De La Hoya knocked him down, turned his face into a bloody mask and stopped him with 12 seconds left in the eighth round of De La Hoya's WBC welterweight title defense.



STILL TOPS — WBC welterweight champ Oscar De La Hoya (r) lands a body punch against Wilfredo Rivera. De La Hoya won on an eighth-round TKO.

"This was Oscar's night," the 26-year old Rivera said. "I am a great challenger."

He certainly was a game one on this cold night along the Boardwalk. Rivera was battered almost from the opening bell in falling for the third time to win the WBC's 147-pound (66.7-kilo) title.

He failed twice in 1996 against Pernell Whitaker, from whom the 24-year-old De La Hoya won the championship April 12.

The De La Hoya fight ended when referee Joe Cortez stopped the action at 2:48 of the eighth round with blood streaming from a cut over Rivera's right eye. Cortez called the ringside physician into the ring to examine the wound, and he recommended the fight be stopped.

"I couldn't see out of my right eye," Rivera said. "The ref had to stop it."

After seven rounds, Judge Richie Davies of England had De La Hoya leading 70-63. Judge Sergio Silvi of Italy favored the champion 68-63. John Riley of New Jersey had De La Hoya up 69-63.

A compobox punch analysis of the fight showed De La Hoya landing 176 of 375 punches while Rivera connected on only 84 of 494.

De La Hoya, who weighed the class limit, opened the cut over Rivera's eye with a left hook in the second round. The cut bled from then on.

De La Hoya knocked down Rivera with a tight band at 2:36 of the fourth round. Rivera got up at

the count of 5 and lasted the round, but took severe punishment thereafter.

"He was the strongest fighter I have ever faced," De La H said with obvious admiration. "He had a big heart."

"When I had him cut badly, my

corner told me to behave like a champ, like Sugar Ray Robinson, take my time and get him out of the ring."

De La Hoya, who now must make a mandatory defense against Patrick Charpentier of France in February at Las Vegas, boosted his

record to 27-0 with 22 knockouts. He earned \$6 million, increasing his total earnings in five fights this year to \$33m.

Rivera earned \$350,000 for only his third defeat. He also has 27 wins with a draw and 18 knockouts.

# Umpire chief: No way to speed up baseball

NEW YORK (AP) — During the World Series, Bud Selig promised that baseball will shorten game times next season.

"The *Unfinished Symphony* had a better chance of finishing before that game last night," the acting commissioner said after watching Game 3 drag on for 4 hours, 12 minutes — two minutes short of the Series record for a nine-inning game.

"Since then, however, the umpires have not been approached about any changes to speed things up, such as making hitters stay in the batter's box."

"You cannot enforce that," umpires' union head Richie Phillips said Friday. "You can urge the players into the box, but if the player says, 'I have something in my eye; I have a pebble in my shoe,' you can't stop players from going outside the box."

And what about applying the rule that pitchers must throw a pitch within 20 seconds when there aren't any runners? "Where is the cutoff? First off, how are you going to time it if you're an umpire? Are you going to stare at a stopwatch between every pitch?"

The average time of game during this year's World Series was 3:31. Nine-inning games averaged 3:01 in the AL during the regular season, up from 2:52 in 1991. Nine-inning games in the NL averaged 2:52, up from 2:46 in 1991.

Phillips blames television and players for long games.

"Television has created what I'll call the preening syndrome," Phillips said. "If a guy steals a base, the guy stands there and dusts himself off for 40 seconds because he knows television is on him and he wants to give Joe

Morgan time to talk about what a great slide he's made. The players like the delay because they know it focuses attention on them. When attention is riveted on them, they want the world to stop."

**Code of conduct**  
Phillips also is angry nothing has happened on the code of conduct that Selig promised after the Roberto Alomar spitting incident with umpire John Hirschbeck on the final weekend of the 1996 regular season.

There was a big meeting at Palm Beach, Florida, last winter and there have been smaller meetings since, but no progress.

Players, usually successful at defeating or lessening discipline, have little interest.

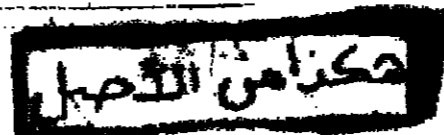
"Bud was never really serious about that mission," Phillips said. "The mission he initiated apparently was for the purpose of getting himself off the hot spot because of his inaction."

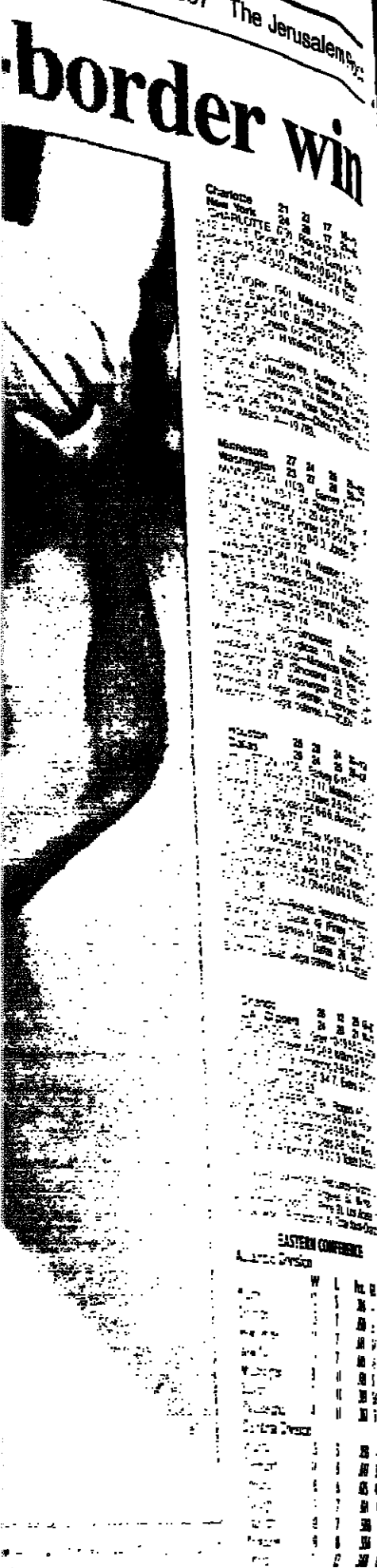
Alomar received a five-game suspension from AL president Gene Budig. Because the second baseman had the players' association initially appeal the penalty, he didn't have to serve it until the start of the 1997 regular season.

"The players have no interest whatsoever," Phillips said. "They want anarchy."

**Interleague dates**  
All interleague games next season will be confined to June 5-11 and June 22-July 2. Last year, they were two groups in June and one from August 28-September 3.

While the first two rounds drew a great deal of attention, officials thought the third round detracted from the pennant races. Now all interleague games will be held before the All-Star break.





to son

Empire chief: No way to speed up baseball

CRITICS' CHOICE

CLASSICAL MUSIC MICHAEL AJZENSTADT Tabla master Pranav Chatterjee, one of India's leading classical musicians, performs in an evening of Indian music...

YIDDISH THEATER HELEN KAYE Alcin is die Neshume Rein is mumaloeschen's succinct way of saying that people need people because the lone-soul is an empty place...

TELEVISION The wave of immigration from the various countries of the former USSR has greatly increased Israeli standards and achievements in various fields of sports...

AROUND THE WORLD Low F Moon. Includes a map of Israel and a table of weather forecasts for various cities like Amman, Beirut, and Jerusalem.

CRYPTIC CROSSWORD. A crossword puzzle with clues such as 'Land use affected a tree least (4,6)' and 'Wildly hoot German emperor (4)'.

SOLUTIONS. Provides the answers to the cryptic crossword, including 'LONCOUR DADAIST', 'REACHABLE DEPT', and 'HARDTOP CHAIR'.

QUICK CROSSWORD. A shorter crossword puzzle with clues like 'Beautiful girl (5)', 'Drying out (8)', and 'Semi-precious stone (5)'.

PRIME TIME TV

Table listing TV programs for various channels (1, 2, 3, 4) at different times (19:30, 20:30, 21:00, 21:30, 22:00, 22:30, 23:00).

NBC EUROPE World of Speed and Beauty. 6:00 Five Star Adventure. 6:30 The Ticket. 7:00 VIP. 7:30 The McLaughlin Group.

WINNING CARDS. Advertisement for a daily chance drawing with prizes like a car and a holiday. Includes a graphic of playing cards.

MOVIES. Lists various films and their showtimes, including 'Fever Pitch', 'The Full Monty', and 'The Godfather Part II'.

Home Delivery of THE JERUSALEM POST. Advertisement for home delivery of the newspaper, including contact information and a list of services.

## Green Bay clinches division title

## Eilat grabs share of first place

Inside

**No tears for Sprewell**  
Page 22

**Aussies top Kiwis in one-day internat'l**  
Page 21

**Sports Editors**  
Joe Hoffman & Ori Lewis

### Huber defeats Hingis

FRANKFURT (AP) - Anke Huber of Germany battled five sets for an upset of top favorite and World No. 1 Martina Hingis in the final of the first Masters of Champions tennis tournament yesterday.

The match, Huber's only tournament win this season, started off as expected with the 17-year-old Hingis rushing off to a 6-2 first set win.

Huber pulled even taking the second set 6-3, with Hingis bouncing back with a 6-2 third set, and Huber winning the fourth with the identical result as Hingis appeared to be tiring.

Then the battle started. Hingis held her serve in the first game of the fifth set, then broke Huber's serve in the second game at zero, with the help of one of many net rollers in the match, and a double-fault by Huber.

But the 23-year-old Huber, who has dropped from No. 6 in world rankings to 14 this season, got a rebreak against Hingis in the third game then held her own serve to tie the last set at 2-2.

Both women held their services to go to 5-5, with the volleys getting longer and the crowd loudly applauding as the two chased down shots that seemed impossible to return.

But the young Swiss star tired and in the 11th game and with the help of yet another net roller, Huber broke Hingis' service to pull ahead 6-5.

Hingis fought to come back in the last game going ahead 30-0, but Huber recovered to win the set 7-5 and her only tournament of the year.

Hingis finished the 1997 season with a record of 79-6.

TAMPA (AP) - The Green Bay Packers aren't ready to relinquish supremacy in the NFC Central.

The defending Super Bowl champions clinched their third straight division title, as well as a first-round bye in the playoffs, with a 17-6 victory over the Tampa Bay Buccaneers yesterday.

With the second-place Bucs needing a victory to earn their first playoff berth since 1982, the game was billed as Tampa Bay's biggest since the franchise appeared in the 1979 NFC title game.

The crowd of 73,523 at Houlihan's Stadium was the largest ever to watch a Bucs home game and saw Brett Favre throw two touchdown passes to become the first quarterback in NFL history to throw for 30 TDs in four consecutive seasons.

Favre, the two-time league MVP, threw 43 yards to Robert Brooks and 8 yards to Dorsey Levens for scores before leading an 88-yard field goal drive that lasted more than 10 minutes to put the game out of reach with 6:24 to go.

Chiefs 30, Raiders 0  
The Chiefs (11-3) outgained the Raiders 418-93 and piled up 27 first downs to five for Oakland (4-10).

While beating their old rivals for the 15th time in 17 meetings, the Chiefs amassed 214 yards rushing and allowed just 36.

The Raiders, who came into the game tied for third in the NFL with 37 touchdowns, got close to scoring only once, when James Jett dropped a pass in the end zone. Then Wayne Simmons sacked Jeff George for a 10-yard loss on fourth down.

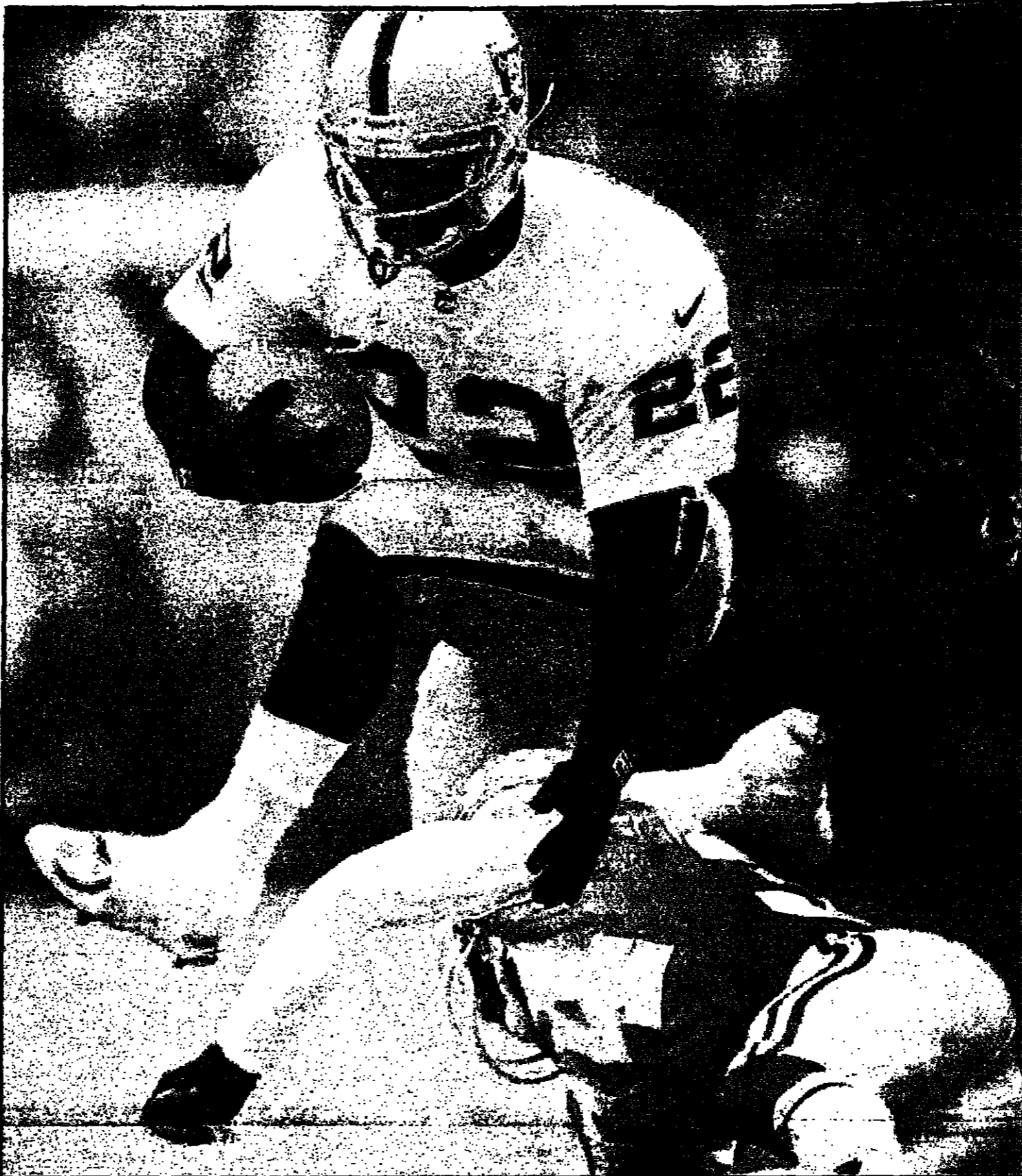
Rich Gannon, 4-1 in relief of the injured Elvis Grbac, ran for one touchdown and passed for another, and Pete Stoyanovich, running his consecutive field goal string to 16, hit two in the first half and one in the second.

Steelers 35, Broncos 24  
Host Pittsburgh practiced in secret all week to alter their defense. What the Denver Broncos never guessed was the biggest change would come on offense.

Kordell Stewart, beating John Elway at his own comeback game, threw three touchdown passes to Yancey Thigpen in the first half, then ran for two scores as the Steelers rallied for a victory that might force Denver onto the road in the playoffs.

By squandering a 21-7 lead, the Broncos (11-3) fell behind in the race for home-field advantage throughout the AFC playoffs. They are in a first-place tie in the AFC West with Kansas City (11-3) - and the Chiefs own the tiebreaker.

Giants 31, Eagles 21  
The visiting Giants defense ended Bobby Hoying's hot streak and Danny Kanell held his starting job and the Giants' division lead.



LOW HURDLES - Raiders RB Harvey Williams (22) leaps over Chiefs' Dale Carter to gain seven yards in first-quarter action. (Reuters)

The Giants pressured Hoying into two fumbles and three interceptions, and Kanell responded to coach Jim Fassel's threat of a benching with three touchdown passes as the Giants beat Philadelphia.

And it all but killed Philadelphia's playoff chances. The Eagles (6-7-1) will have to win two games on the road, where it is 0-5-1 this season.

Kanell entered the game on notice from Fassel that he needed to produce scores to keep his job. He was 14-of-27 for 153 yards and had an interception returned for a touchdown - the first five TDs in this game were either scored off turnovers or set up by them.

Last night's early results:  
Green Bay 17, Tampa Bay 6  
Chicago 20, Buffalo 3  
N. England 26, Jacksonville 20  
Kansas City 30, Oakland 0  
Pittsburgh 35, Denver 24  
NY Giants 31, Philadelphia 21  
Pittsburgh 35, Denver 24  
Baltimore 31, Seattle 24

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

Hapoel Eilat drove seven hours for its game last night against Maccabi Kiryat Motzkin, and the trip was worth every pothole as Eilat used a late 16-4 blitz to win 99-95 yesterday, and tie Maccabi Tel Aviv for first place in the final game of the first round of National Basketball League action.

Thanks to 27 points and six rebounds by Derrick Hamilton, Eilat recovered in time from a 91-83 Kiryat Motzkin lead late in the second half as they turned up their vaunted fast break just in time to knock off the gritty Kiryat Motzkin side.

Meanwhile, Maccabi Tel Aviv was falling victim to its own shoddy play. A hoop by Maccabi Ramat Gan's Lance Miller underneath after he faked Randy White out of his shoes with just four ticks left on the clock led Ramat Gan to the amazing 88-87 victory.

Jerusalem meanwhile won a nail-biter of its own, with Kenny Williams scoring just before the buzzer to beat Bnei Herzliya 72-71.

Elsewhere, Hapoel Galil Elyon beat Maccabi Netanya 89-83, Maccabi Ra'anana whipped Hapoel Holon 91-84 and Maccabi Rishon LeZion beat Givat Shmuel, 88-86.

Hapoel Eilat 99

Maccabi Kiryat Motzkin 95  
It took forever to get the game started after both baskets were found to be too low and the game clock couldn't be started, but once they took the floor, Eilat's offense looked like it was going to make the game a day at the beach, with Amir Katz, Eddie Alisima and Hamilton scoring practically at will on fast breaks. But led by Karmiel Springer, Kiryat Motzkin (4-7) roared back into the game.

That's when Hamilton decided enough was enough, took over the offense, and led Eilat (8-3) to a share of first.

Maccabi Ramat Gan 88

Maccabi Tel Aviv 87

With Efes Pilsen looming on the horizon Thursday night, Maccabi (8-3) could ill afford to miss around in Ramat Gan (4-7), but they managed to fritter away a 74-67 lead in the second half as Miller and Norris Coleman led the home club back, proving again that there's no such thing as a sure thing in the league this season.

### NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pts
Maccabi Tel Aviv	8	1	19
Hapoel Eilat	8	3	19
Bnei Herzliya	7	4	18
Galil-Elyon	7	4	18
Maccabi R. LeZion	7	4	18
Maccabi Ra'anana	7	4	18
Hapoel Jerusalem	6	5	17
Maccabi Ramat Gan	4	7	15
Hapoel Holon	4	7	15
Kiryat Motzkin	4	7	15
Givat Shmuel	3	8	14
Maccabi Netanya	1	10	12

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## Leeds and Scotland great Bremner dies at 54

LONDON (Reuters) - Former Scotland captain Billy Bremner, short in stature but forever linked with the great years of Leeds United and their manager Don Revie, died yesterday after a heart attack. He would have been 55 tomorrow.

The flame-haired midfielder, who was capped 54 times and played in the 1974 World Cup, died in hospital in the northern town of Doncaster where he started out in management in 1978 after 585 league games for Leeds and 61 for Hull.

Bremner joined Leeds in December 1959 after being rejected by both Arsenal and Chelsea who felt that at 5-foot-5 - a similar stature to that of Kevin Keegan or Diego Maradona - he was too small to make the grade.

Both clubs would regret it later. The Scot made his league debut the next

month against Chelsea and swiftly became a key man in Revie's squad as a tough, uncompromising tackler with a huge sense of commitment and an equal abundance of talent.

"That little man should have a halo around his head when he plays because he has a talent which comes from Heaven," former Liverpool manager Bill Shankly once said.

With Leeds, Bremner won two English league titles and the FA Cup as well as finishing European Cup runners-up in 1975 after losing 2-0 to Bayern Munich in Paris.

Revie, who left Leeds to manage England in 1974, came to value him so highly that he threatened to resign when directors suggested Bremner be sold to raise money.

Bremner was the epitome of Leeds' vices and virtues. He liked a cigarette and a glass of whiskey and yet his autobiography was enti-

led *You Get Now For Being Second* - a fitting title for a man bent on winning.

Bremner became captain at Leeds in 1968, the season after one of his great matches against Chelsea at Elland Road when he scored from an overhead kick and Leeds won 7-0.

In 1969 Leeds won the league title - their first ever - and in 1970, he was voted footballer of the year.

Scotland failed to qualify for the World Cup that year but they made sure of an appearance in 1974.

In 1975, Bremner was dropped by Scotland after a nightclub brawl following a match in Copenhagen.

He moved to Hull in 1976 for £35,000 but returned to Leeds as manager in 1985, a job that lasted three years.

Premier League

Team	P	W	D	L	F	A	Pts
Man United	17	11	4	2	43	13	37
Chelsea	17	11	1	5	41	18	34
Blackburn Rovers	17	9	6	2	30	18	33
Arsenal	17	8	6	3	31	18	30
Leeds United	17	9	3	5	26	19	30
Leicester City	17	7	6	4	22	15	27
Derby County	16	8	2	6	30	24	26
Liverpool	16	7	4	5	27	17	25
Newcastle United	15	7	3	5	18	19	24
West Ham United	17	7	1	9	24	28	22
Wimbledon	17	6	4	7	19	21	22
Aston Villa	17	6	3	8	19	23	21
Crystal Palace	17	5	5	7	17	22	20
Bolton Wanderers	17	4	7	6	13	24	19
Sheff Wednesday	16	5	3	8	28	37	17
Coventry City	17	3	8	6	13	24	17
Southampton	17	5	1	11	20	27	16
Tottenham Hotspur	17	4	4	9	14	28	16
Everton	17	3	4	10	16	27	13
Barnsley	16	4	1	11	14	43	13

Premier League - Wimbledon 1, Southampton 0. FA Cup - Second Round: Bournemouth 3, Bristol City 1. Scottish Premier: Rangers 1, Hibernian 0.

### SCOREBOARD

LOCAL SOCCER - Menashe Nuriel resigned as coach of Hapoel Ashkelon yesterday. The club's record is 3 wins, 2 draws and 8 defeats.

SOCCER - Brazil beat South Africa 2-1 in a friendly in Johannesburg yesterday. Scorers: South Africa - Helman Mkhalele 72. Brazil: Romario 10, Bebeto 37.

## Chelsea to face Utd in FA Cup

LONDON (Reuters) - Chelsea were handed the toughest possible start to their defense of the FA Cup when yesterday's draw for the third round dealt them a home tie against league champions Manchester United.

United and Chelsea, currently first and second in the Premier League, last met in the Cup in the 1996 semifinal which United won 2-1 at Villa Park.

In another all-Premier League tie, relegation-threatened Everton, who beat United in the 1995 Cup final, were drawn at home against Newcastle United, who chalked up the last of their six victories in 1995.

Liverpool were drawn at home to Coventry, Derby County will play Southampton, while Barnsley and Bolton will meet at Barnsley.

Arsenal were drawn against first division Port Vale, Tottenham play second division Fulham.

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